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BELL'S ENGLISH CLASSICS

JOHNSON'S
LIFE OF SWIFT

F. RYLAND

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BOSSON'S LIFE OF SWIFT.

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF SWIFT.

JOHNSON'S LIFE OF SWIFT

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

F. RYLAND, M.A.

AUTHOR OF "A STUDENT'S HANDBOOK OF PSYCHOLOGY AND ETHICS,"
"CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINES OF ENGLISH
LITERATURE," ETC.



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INTRODUCTION.

I. LIFE OF JOHNSON.

SAMUEL JOHNSON was born at Lichfield on September 18th, 1709. His father, Michael Johnson, was a bookseller, who, at one time a well-to-do magistrate of the city, fell before his death into distressed circumstances. He was a high churchman and a Tory, with Jacobite leanings.

The child's physical organization was undermined by scrofula, the king's evil as it was then called, which afterwards scarred and distorted his features and left him a prey to extreme mental depression and other symptoms of nervous disease. As he grew older he was afflicted with convulsive movements, and he lost the sight of one eye. About his fifth year—he could not have been six—he was brought to London to be touched for the evil by Queen Anne. He was sent to Lichfield Grammar School, then under a very severe master, Mr. Hunter, one of the Cathedral clergy. He afterwards went to Stourbridge Grammar School (in Worcestershire), where he remained a year; but his school days were over at the age of sixteen. A couple of years at home were spent in desultory reading, “not voyages and travels” (he told Boswell), “but all literature, Sir, all ancient writers, all manly; though but little Greek . . . so that when I came to Oxford, Dr. Adams, now Master of

Pembroke College, told me I was the best qualified for the University that he had ever known come there.”¹

He went up to Oxford (Pembroke College), in the October of 1728, and he remained there, according to Boswell, until the autumn of 1731, although Croker and other recent authorities² believe that he left the University after only fourteen months' residence, in December, 1729. Who supplied the necessary funds for his University course is still an unsolved question; it could hardly have been his father, who was very badly off, and who died in an insolvent condition in 1731. However long he remained at the University, Johnson took no degree. He seems to have been a somewhat troublesome undergraduate; as a rough and self-reliant lad with the learning of a don might easily become. But he fell under the influence of that half-forgotten High Church revival which preceded the great Evangelical movement of the Wesleys; and religion became a great reality for him after he had read William Law's "Serious Call to a Holy Life."

After his departure from Oxford and the death of his father, Johnson passed a year of struggle, apparently without definite occupation except during the few months he spent as usher in the Grammar School of Market Bosworth, months of "complicated misery" which he recalled with "even a degree of horror."³ In 1733 he went to stay for six months with his old school-fellow Hector, now a surgeon at Birmingham. Here he was thrown into the company of the chief bookseller of the town; and this circumstance seems to have led him to take up literary work. He settled in Birmingham, and in the next year or two wrote contributions for a sort of local "Spectator," besides translating and abridging Father Lobo's "Voyage to Abyssinia" from a French translation. In 1735 he married Mrs. Porter,

¹ Boswell, Bohn, i. 30.

² Boswell, Bohn, i. 405-409.

³ Boswell, Bohn, i. 50.

the widow of a Birmingham tradesman. The bride was forty-eight, the bridegroom not quite twenty-six. But Johnson declared long afterwards¹ that it "was a love marriage on both sides," and the married life of the strangely assorted pair seems to have been very happy. "Tetty" had a fortune of about £800, and on this pecuniary basis Johnson set up a school at Edial, near Lichfield. He had only a few pupils (Boswell says three), one of whom was David Garrick. The school was soon seen to be a failure, and in the spring of 1737 Johnson and Garrick came to London to seek their fortunes.

Johnson brought with him part of a tragedy, "Irene," which it was his first business to finish. But the play did not see the light till 1749.

Several years' experience as a hack-writer, a doer of literary odd jobs, lay before Johnson. At that date journalism was not a lucrative profession, if, indeed, such a profession can be said to have existed at all. Although Johnson soon got work on Cave's "Gentleman's Magazine," one of the best of the monthly periodicals, he must have had a hard and anxious time for a year or so. However, Boswell thinks that in 1738 he was already earning "a tolerable livelihood."² In 1738 his wife joined him in London, and in 1738, too, came honour as well as guineas. On the same morning as Pope's "Epilogue to the Satires" appeared Johnson's "London," an imitation of Juvenal's third satire. The work of the new writer was not eclipsed by that of the most illustrious literary man of the age, and in a week a new edition of Johnson's poem was called for. A life of Father Paul Sarpi, the historian of the Council of Trent, was his first important contribution to the "Gentleman's Magazine," and afterwards (1739-43) he wrote for it short biographies of Drake, Blake,

¹ Boswell, Bohn, i. 60.

² Boswell, Bohn, i. 78.

Sydenham, and others, literary criticism and miscellaneous essays, and reported the debates in Parliament, or rather worked them up from such rough notes as could be furnished by persons paid to attend. In 1744 he produced a life of Richard Savage, a Bohemian literary man who had been his friend, and who had died the year before. This biography was afterwards embodied in the "Lives of the Poets."

In 1747 Johnson issued his "Plan for a Dictionary of the English Language," addressed to Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield. The great dictionary, which was published by a group of booksellers, what would now-a-days be called a syndicate of publishers, occupied most of his time for the next seven years. He got little or no help from Chesterfield, and as he had to employ six clerks the expenses were considerable. Most of the 1,500 guineas which the booksellers had contracted to pay him were received on account before the work appeared.

"The Vanity of Human Wishes," an imitation of Juvenal's tenth satire, appeared in the January of 1749, and in February "Irene" was at length produced on the stage of Drury Lane by Garrick, who had deserted the law, for which he was intended, and had become the greatest actor and theatrical manager of the day. The tragedy was not a success, but thanks to the kindly zeal of Garrick, it ran for nine nights, and Johnson's share of the receipts, together with the payment for press rights, amounted to very nearly £300. From March, 1750, to March, 1752, he issued twice a week a periodical essay called the "Rambler;" there existed many such imitations *longo intervallo* of the "Spectator," some grave and some gay, and Johnson's was the most serious of all. His wife, much loved and long lamented, died on the day on which the last "Rambler" appeared. Although not very popular during its serial publication, it proved a great success when collected in

volumes, and on it was founded Johnson's reputation as a moralist.

In 1755 the Dictionary at last saw the light, in two great folio volumes. Since that day, philology has become scientific, and the crude etymologies of Johnson provoke the mirth of modern scholars. But his Dictionary is an enormous advance on its incomplete and unsatisfactory predecessors. Just before it appeared, when he began "to see land after having wandered in this vast sea of words,"¹ the University of Oxford granted him an M.A. degree, and he was now recognized as at the head of the literary world of London. He continued to write for the magazines, and to one of them, the weekly "Universal Chronicle," contributed during 1758-1760 the series of essays known as the "Idler." His gloomy oriental story "Rasselas" was written "in the evenings of a single week," in the early spring of 1759, in order "to defray the expense of his mother's funeral and pay some little debts which she had left."² Besides these and miscellaneous reviews and essays, he wrote prefaces to books, dedications, addresses, and speeches.

In 1762 he received a pension of £300 a year from the crown in recognition of his literary labours; and now at last at the age of fifty-three he was put beyond the need of daily toil for his daily bread. Henceforth he wrote comparatively little.

Although he wrote little, he talked much; and he became the centre of a brilliant group of eminent men who honoured him and loved his society. The famous Literary Club was founded by Sir Joshua Reynolds and Johnson in 1764, and originally consisted of twelve members, among whom were Burke, Goldsmith, Topham Beauclerk (a dissipated man of fashion), Bennet Langton (a gentleman and a

¹ Boswell, Bohn, i. 216.

² Boswell, Bohn, i. 269.

scholar with "a mind as exalted as his stature"), and Sir John Hawkins, the author of a "History of Music." The numbers were afterwards increased several times; but in 1780 the maximum was fixed at forty. Boswell, Garrick, Gibbon, Sheridan, Percy, Adam Smith, Sir William Scott (Lord Stowell), Sir William Jones, and the Wartons, were amongst the early members. Until 1783 the club met at the "Turk's Head" in Gerrard Street, Soho.

Johnson's conversation has been preserved for us by the zeal and industry of James Boswell, a young Scotch advocate, whose "Life of Dr. Johnson" is not only the best biography, but perhaps, in the words of Macaulay, "the most delightful narrative in the language." Boswell was a bright, intelligent and amiable young man with a passion for pushing his acquaintance among interesting people. He was somewhat vain, and unaffectedly undignified, and there was about him a want of reserve which amounted to a kind of intellectual immodesty. But his weaknesses endear him to his readers, and his book is great just because he had the important qualifications of unsparing diligence and acute perception, real insight into character, true admiration for greatness, and the gift of easy and pleasant narration. Meeting Johnson in the May of 1763, he has left us a wonderful record of the last twenty-one years of the great man's life.

Johnson was a conversational gladiator; he talked, as he owned, for victory. He loved a paradox in conversation, though he disliked it in print, because it made an immediate impression, and gave an instant opportunity for a battle of words. This made him glory in his prejudices, and exaggerate them. In his view of life he was, to some extent, what we now call a pessimist; he suffered much from ill-health and depression. But he had "a noble and a true conceit of god-like amity." Surrounded by his friends, he appears like a Christian Socrates, a wise and tolerant old

man, mingling freely in the everyday enjoyment of his younger companions, without any dyspeptic protests against such of their pleasures as he thought fit not to share.

In 1765 he came to know Mr. Thrale, the proprietor of a great brewery, a rich man and a member of parliament. Much of Johnson's time during the next sixteen or seventeen years was spent at Mr. Thrale's house at Streatham. His wife, Hester Lynch Thrale, a charming little lady, full of high spirits, did much to make Johnson happy, and "his irregular habits," as Boswell says, were "lessened by association with an agreeable and well-ordered family."¹ The University of Dublin gave him the degree of LL.D. in the year 1765, and ten years afterwards his own University gave him a doctor's degree in laws. His edition of "Shakespeare" was published in 1765 with an important preface. In 1770 he produced a political pamphlet with reference to the expulsion of Wilkes from the House of Commons, the "False Alarm;" this was next year followed by another, "Thoughts on the Late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands." A third, "Taxation no Tyranny," 1775, maintained the right of the British parliament to tax the American colonists. None of these produced any effect, however momentary.

At the age of sixty-four (1773), Johnson took with Boswell a long tour in the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebrides. This was quite an adventurous expedition for an unwieldy man of his years, at a time when roads and wheeled carriages were unknown in the islands; and the "Great Cham of Literature" underwent not only a great deal of discomfort, but some considerable danger. But he went through it all with patience and good humour; and he has left us an account of it in his "Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland" (1775), although most people

¹ Boswell, Bohn, ii. 17.

will prefer to read Boswell's gossiping and lively "Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides." In 1774 Dr. Johnson went with the Thrales on a tour in Wales, and in 1775 he visited France with them.

His last literary undertaking was to write Prefaces, biographical and critical, to the works of the English poets, included by the syndicate of booksellers in their great edition of 1779-1781. These Prefaces were soon republished as "Lives of the English Poets." Johnson was not responsible for the selection of names, though it was at his suggestion that the works of Blackmore, Watts, Pomfret, and Yalden were added; a selection which excludes the great Elizabethans and the amatory and religious poets of the mid seventeenth century. Chaucer, and Spenser, and Shakespeare, Herrick, and Herbert are indeed absent; but then have we not Walsh and "Rag" Smith, Duke and King, and Sprat? The work was done very unevenly, and is very unequal in value. There was not very much consultation of unpublished authorities. But he used Spence's MS. Collection of Anecdotes, lent by the Duke of Newcastle; and he was at some little pains to insert gossip and personal reminiscences, which would otherwise have vanished. The "Lives" remain our chief authority for many of the minor writers; while no modern biographer can afford to neglect the accounts given by Johnson of the great writers of the early eighteenth century. Of the criticism contained in the book, something will be said presently.

During the half-century he spent in London, Johnson had lived in nearly a score of different places. At first he changed his lodgings frequently. After his wife joined him in 1738 he lived in Castle Street, which runs parallel with Oxford Street; and then in the Strand and in several of the adjoining streets, in Holborn, in Gough Square (1748-1758), in Staple Inn, in Gray's Inn, then for five

years in Inner Temple Lane (1760-1765), in Johnson's Court, Fleet Street (1765-1777), and in Bolt Court, Fleet Street, for the last seven years of his life. In his house he had accumulated an extraordinary group of feeble and unfortunate people, whom he treated with great kindness and charity: Robert Levett, a broken-down medical man, in whose skill Johnson professed the greatest trust; Miss Williams, a pale, shrunk old lady afflicted with blindness; Mrs. Desmoulins and her daughter, to whom he allowed half-a-guinea a week, and Miss Carmichael. These inmates gave Johnson unnecessary trouble by their frequent quarrels. He told Mrs. Thrale on one occasion: "Williams hates everybody; Levett hates Desmoulins and does not love Williams: Desmoulins hates them both; Poll loves none of them."¹

In 1781 he lost his friend Mr. Thrale, who had made Johnson one of his executors. Mrs. Thrale soon formed an attachment to an Italian musician named Piozzi, and in the interests of her children as well as herself Johnson opposed this union. In 1784, however, she married, much against Johnson's wish, and their friendship was at an end. He suffered a great deal from asthma and sleeplessness. After visiting Oxford, Lichfield, and Birmingham in the summer, he was taken worse in November, and died on December 13th, 1784, aged 75.

Johnson was one of the most honest and independent of men; his powerful, masculine nature, and his hatred of unreality sometimes led him to speak with almost brutal violence; but there was a great depth of tenderness under his rough exterior. People of narrow natures perceived only the outside. Mrs. Boswell said to her husband: "I have seen many a bear led by a man, but I never before saw a man led by a bear."² But Goldsmith had keener

¹ Boswell, Bohn, iii. 363.

² Boswell, Bohn, ii. 249.

insight when he said, "He has nothing of the bear but the skin."¹ He had the firmest convictions in religion and politics; he disliked Whiggism and dissent; but some of his greatest friends were Whigs, and some of his favourite authors were nonconformists. We need not (with Macaulay) call him a bigot, because he practised abstinence on Good Friday. Judged by the standard of the age his mind was singularly free from superstitions, political and theological. He was less superstitious than Doddridge or Wesley, and other pious contemporaries, and who shall complain of his conditional belief in the Cock Lane ghost, a belief necessarily assumed merely for the purpose of examination, in these days of the Psychical Society?

"One thing he did," says Leigh Hunt, "perhaps beyond any man in England before or since—he advanced, by the powers of his conversation, the strictness of his veracity, and the respect he exacted towards his presence, what may be called the personal dignity of literature."

II. JOHNSON'S CRITICISM.

Johnson's literary attitude is that of the average practical man, caught young and educated. He accepts the critical standards of the age, without much misgiving, and seldom goes behind them to ask the why and the wherefore. In the words of Macaulay, he "decided literary questions like a lawyer, not like a legislator." Now-a-days the critics try to decide them like philosophers, or men of science.

The main object of modern criticism is to show us how to understand, and how to enjoy, literary or artistic work. It strives to trace the special laws which underlie the

¹ Boswell, Bohn, ii. 76.

different kinds of excellence. It does not assume that great literary achievement is always dependent on the same conditions, that there are any universal and necessary canons of beauty which will be always exemplified in the finest work. The best modern critics approach a great poem somewhat as men of science approach a fact of nature. The duty of the critic is to analyse the complex effect produced on us, and to exhibit separately the conditions of its production. Although we may recognize that some types of beauty are more impressive, or more insistent, or more complete, than others, it is not for the critic to classify literary works as good or bad merely because they embody the particular ideals which he regards as most perfect.¹ Many critics do not accept this view of their functions even now. In the eighteenth century scarcely any accepted it. They pronounced a judgment on a work because it was, or was not, in accordance with the literary ideals then accepted. They did not stop to inquire whether there were other literary ideals equally valid.

The literary models of the eighteenth century were determined by three principal factors—regard for morality, regard for the classics, and regard for the opinion of the average plain man; in other words, by edification, correctness, and common sense. And the greatest of these three was common sense.

On the first of the ideals there is no need to say much. When we find Dennis laying down that it is the "duty of every tragic poet . . . to inculcate a particular Providence," we see that he carries the union of Church and Stage to a very exacting degree. When Dr. Johnson grumbles at Gray's "Bard," because it does not "promote any truth, moral or political," we are struck with the

¹ On what has been called Inductive Criticism, see Professor R. G. Moulton's "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," Introduction.

cramping effect on literature of this insatiable desire for edification. We are reminded of the senior wrangler who had been induced to read "Paradise Lost," and who returned the book with the remark that he did not see what it proved. The eighteenth century did not believe in art for art's sake. It was still dominated by Puritan scruples. Defoe lards his "Moll Flanders" with pious reflections—often half ironical, as it seems to the modern reader; while "Pamela" is "published in order to cultivate the principles of Virtue and Religion in the Minds of the Youth of Both Sexes," and Swift himself, the supreme master of cynical humour, defends the "Beggars' Opera" in all seriousness as "an excellent moral performance."

The term "correctness," so often used by the eighteenth century critics, is difficult to explain. It involves perfection of technique, the avoidance of all inadequacies and excesses of form; the achievement of clearness and precision in language, metre, and rhyme, and in what may be called the anatomy of epic and tragedy. There must be the proper word in the proper place; the right number of syllables in the line; the rhymes must be true; the work must begin and end in the proper way; the story must be told within the proper limitations as to length, number of books or acts, number of characters, and so forth. The ideal aimed at, the approximation to which constituted correctness, was, however, not quite clearly defined. It was partly due to study of the French poets and critics of the reign of Louis XIV., and partly to the study of the sources from which these derived their inspiration, the classical poets and critics.

A dread of all strong feeling and of any vividness of expression which was likely to be regarded as hyperbolic in a very conventional age, went along with a dislike of the unsophisticated, the merely ordinary and simple. On the one hand there was the Scylla of "enthusiasm," on the other

the Charybdis of the "familiar" and the "gross." Hence the absence of any fanciful or passionate lyrical poetry, hence the frigid decorum of the epics and tragedies. A special poetical diction followed as a matter of course; the poet required a "system of words at once refined from the grossness of domestic use, and free from the harshness of terms appropriated to particular arts."¹

Lord Macaulay in his boisterous attack on "correctness" in the essay on Moore's "Life of Byron,"² makes two mistakes. He regards poetry as a purely imitative art; and he assumes that a purely imitative art is freed from all allegiance to the ideal. Now poetry is at once a representative art like sculpture or painting, and a presentative art like music. Its object is not merely to put before us scenes which are not present and events which we have never witnessed, but to create for the ear beautiful melodies and harmonies of verse. It affects our emotions not only by what it puts before the visual imagination, but also by its appeal to the auditory and muscular sensations of tone and rhythm. Macaulay's second error is more important. An imitative or representative art is not absolved from all regard for beauty; its sole aim is not accuracy of reproduction. Even a photograph is largely idealistic: pose, background and accessories, lighting, degree of detail, these points, and many more, require consideration and selection; and selection implies an ideal. The object of the photographer, and *à fortiori* of the painter or the poet, is not to produce an exact representation, but to produce a representation sufficiently exact to form the starting point of waves of suggestion. And the direction of these waves he controls by the exclusion of what is commonplace, or exaggerated, or unpleasant. And in this need for avoiding what clashes with our sense of

¹ Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, i. 435.

² "Essays," pp. 148-151.

beauty, we have the justification of rules, or rather principles, of "correct" form.

But these rules, like the principles of morality, tend to be regarded as good in and for themselves. The critics come to think that merit lies in the obedience to rule, and not in the achievement of what the rule was intended to secure. Comply with all the precepts laid down by Aristotle and Longinus, by Horace and Boileau, and your work will be perfect and immortal.

Much, indeed, of the eighteenth century poetry is simply unreadable; not, however, because it conforms to arbitrary rules, but because the poetical impulse which produced it was weak and chill. When a man of poetical genius like Pope, or Gray, or Goldsmith, writes, his work gains at least as much as it loses by compliance with fixed canons of literary form. What it surrenders in energy of expression and uncalculated felicity of achievement is made up to it by dignity, suggestiveness, and restraint. We have long since seen the end of that reaction against literary form which is exemplified by what Mr. Jacobs¹ terms the "amorphous masses called poems" produced by Southey and, we may add, Wordsworth. Many of our poets to-day are as much formalists as any of the eighteenth century writers; Tennyson, Matthew Arnold, Austin Dobson, each is, after his own kind, a supreme master of technique.

But, notwithstanding the reverence for correctness, common sense is the central ideal in eighteenth century literature and criticism. It is the final test of excellence. "By the common sense of readers uncorrupted with literary prejudices, after all the refinement of subtlety and the dogmatism of learning, must be finally decided all claim to poetical honours."² The Augustan age was eminently a social one. The tastes of the best

¹ "Tennyson and 'In Memoriam,'" by Joseph Jacobs, p. 6.

² Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, iii. 384.

and most conventional classes in a well-organized State formed the standard which Addison, and Pope, and Richardson had before them. Corsairs and outlaws and peasants were to be the ideal figures of the reaction under Byron and Scott and Wordsworth, after Rousseau had taught that the "state of nature" was superior to the social condition. To the men of the eighteenth century the "state of nature" presented few attractions. Their worship of common sense was due to their respect for properly ordered society. The beliefs of the vast majority of such a society tend to become alike, one type of opinion is formed. *My* common sense is the reflection in me of the average opinions of other plain men. "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*" becomes the criterion of truth. It requires a man of extraordinary courage to question beliefs so universal. They are found to fit in with the needs of practical life, and Berkeley is refuted with a kick. Science is freed from the "jargon" of technical terms; and philosophy is to be "brought out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables, and coffee-houses." Superficiality incarnate in the person of Tillotson occupies the pulpit.

It is, however, common sense which saves Johnson from being a pedant. Correctness is no doubt important, but common sense is still more important. He is quite prepared to criticise Aristotle, if Aristotle is in conflict with common sense. He does not, like Dryden or even Addison, quote Bossu and Boileau with bated breath.

Johnson's criticism is thus usually right when he lays down some general truth of form, or deals with some question of formal consistency. He can point out contradictions, errors of reasoning, and errors of fact, faulty similes and imperfect rhymes. He falls short only when imagination and sympathy are required. He has not that fine natural insight into unfamiliar modes of action and feeling which

makes a critic of the highest order. That alert perception of beauty which comes from ready sympathy with the artistic aims of others is absent; he sees only that a rule is broken, that a formal absurdity has been perpetrated; the beauty which it strives to embody escapes him. Speaking generally, we may say that what he lays down in criticism is true as far as it goes. It is not the whole truth, of course; no man ever sees the whole truth, and certainly no one proposition can ever contain the whole truth. But it is a part of the truth which it is unsafe to neglect.

What he says, for instance, about poetical diction¹ is true enough: "Words too familiar or too remote defeat the purpose of a poet. From those sounds which we hear on small or on coarse occasions we do not easily receive strong impressions or delightful images; and words to which we are nearly strangers, whenever they occur, draw that attention on themselves which they should transmit to things." But when he comes from laying down these general laws to apply them to particular cases he is liable to overlook the special circumstances. His condemnation of Dryden's nautical phraseology is undoubtedly too unqualified; he has not appreciated the superior vividness which results from the use of such highly specialized language. His condemnation of the over-elaborated and frigid conceits of the metaphysical school is as good as possible,² but their fine lyrical talent he seems scarcely to have noticed, much less to have felt. He calls attention to Gray's occasional failure in a forced metaphor or simile and to what he happily calls the "cumbrous splendour" of the odes, but he has no ear for Gray's bright picturesqueness of phrase and his fine subtlety of rhythm.

¹ "Lives," Bohn, i. 435 (compare i. 448).

² "Lives," Bohn, i. 24, 52.

Johnson again is entirely right to point out that the pastoral form and the allegorical allusions of "Lycidas" are highly artificial, and give a tone of unreality to the poem. "Passion plucks no berries from the myrtle and ivy, nor calls upon Arethusa and Mincius. Where there is leisure for fiction there is little grief. . . . Its form is that of a pastoral . . . whatever images it can supply are long ago exhausted, and its inherent improbability always forces dissatisfaction on the mind." Yet, we ask, by what fatality does the critic come to utter in reference to "Lycidas" those truths which, if applied to the pastorals of Pope or Philips, we should not attempt to resist? And what are we to think of Johnson's capacity for directly perceiving beauty, when he adds, "surely no man could have fancied that he read 'Lycidas' with pleasure had he not known the author."¹ This surely is letting his judgment get the better of him with a vengeance.

But after we have made all the necessary deductions, Johnson's criticism remains full of value, and especially for us. In periods when imagination and emotion are dominant in literature, and when men take most delight in just those literary elements which are least allied to pure reason, it is necessary that we should be sometimes recalled to the recognition of its more orderly, abstract and intellectual elements. Though the formal aspects of literature have not all the importance which the eighteenth century assigned to them, they have much more importance than the nineteenth is inclined to attribute to them. And nothing is more likely to enforce this on us than the grave sanity, the practical knowledge of the world, and the moral elevation of Johnson's criticism.

¹ "Lives," Bohn, i. 168.

III. JOHNSON'S STYLE.

It is usually said that Johnson's style is highly latinized, and that it delights in polysyllables. This is certainly not true of the "Lives of the Poets;" though it has some slight foundation as applied to the "Rambler."

The following results were obtained from examining four passages (each of 200 lines) in each of the works mentioned :—

In the "Rambler :"

30·5 per cent. of words of classical origin.

19 " " of more than two syllables.

In the "Lives of the Poets :"

28·7 per cent. of words of classical origin.

13·1 " " of more than two syllables.

In Macaulay's "Essays :"

28·6 per cent. of words of classical origin.

16·5 " " of more than two syllables.

In two critical articles in the "Athenæum" (1893) :

28·5 per cent. of words of classical origin.

17·5 " " of more than two syllables.

It will be noticed that the proportion of words of classical and Romance origin in the "Lives" is almost exactly the same as the proportion of these words in Macaulay, and in the reviewers of to-day. In the use of long words Johnson is actually more sparing than Macaulay and the writer in the "Athenæum." He has, I fancy, got his reputation for excessive Latinism from his habit of employing these long words just where most writers would use short ones ; his familiar passages are much fuller of four-syllable words than those of the other writers

mentioned, but he reduces his average by indulging in fewer polysyllables than the more modern writers, when he comes to a more formal and technical passage. It is probably this employment of long and sonorous classical words when we expect short and unobtrusive English ones, which helps to give the impression of stiffness and ponderosity.

Thus for "greediness" he says "avidity," and for "freeing" he says "manumission;" "cool courage" he renders by "deliberate intrepidity," and instead of calling a translation "too free," he terms it "licentiously paraphrastical."

Allied with this is his tendency to use the abstract for the concrete, *e.g.*, "Whiggism" for "Whigs." He tells us that Milton's "natural port is gigantic loftiness," or that Warburton "excelled in critical perspicacity", where adverbs and adjectives would do at least as well. And he is fond of writing a couple of abstract nouns where most writers would employ only one linked with an adjective: *e.g.*, he speaks of "imprudence of generosity or vanity of profusion" instead of "imprudent generosity or vain profusion." Similar to these are such sentences as follow:—"No writer had yet undertaken to reform either the savageness of neglect or the impertinence of civility;" "He never spared any asperity of reproach or brutality of insolence." And he speaks of an attempt "to represent the whole course of things as a necessary concatenation of indissoluble fatality."

Johnson's sentences are seldom long. There are none of the cumbrous and involved clauses, in which our writers, from Hooker to Locke, so frequently delighted. If a sentence exceeds three lines, it is usually broken up by semicolons into co-ordinate and virtually unconnected parts.

But these uninvolved sentences are not always natural in

structure. Johnson is fond of inversion ; and a favourite device of his is that of beginning a sentence with a prepositional phrase : " To a thousand cavils one answer is sufficient." " Of the first stanza the abrupt beginning has been celebrated." Or he begins with a dependent clause : " When the Hanoverian succession was disputed, Tickell gave what assistance his pen would supply." " That in the reigns of Charles and James the ' Paradise Lost ' received no public acclamations is readily confessed." He gives an appearance of inversion to some sentences by omitting the impersonal " it " we usually employ when the real subject is a noun clause. Instead of saying " It is to be lamented that——" he writes, " That this poem was never written is reasonably to be lamented."

The late Professor Minto¹ points out that Johnson is fond of " abruptly introducing a general principle before the particular circumstance that it applies to." This peculiarity, he adds, was adopted by Macaulay, whose style owes more to that of Johnson than is usually acknowledged. In fact, we may say that Macaulay's style is Johnson's, broken into short spasmodic sentences, freed from inversion, and rendered concrete.

Antithesis and balance are constantly employed. Opposed terms are set over against each other ; and a strict parallelism is observed in order to emphasize the opposition. No English writer since the time of Lyly had employed this rhetorical artifice to the same extent. No writer until Macaulay employed it again to the same extent. After the lumbering and trailing clauses of the seventeenth century, it is delightful to get these clear-cut epigrams : " He thought woman made only for obedience, and man only for rebellion." " He hated monarchs in the State, and prelates in the Church ; for he hated all whom he was

¹ " English Prose Writers." (Johnson.)

required to obey." "He was never reduced to the necessity of soliciting the sun to shine upon a birthday, of calling the graces to a wedding, or of saying what multitudes had said before him. When he could produce nothing new, he was at liberty to be silent." "Pope was not content to satisfy; he dared to excel, and therefore always endeavoured to do his best; he did not court the candour, but dared the judgment of his reader; and expecting no indulgence from others, he showed none to himself." It is easy to multiply such passages; and, indeed, it must be owned that much of their effect is lost by the frequency with which they are repeated.¹

Among the occasional faults of Johnson's style we may note his careless employment of the pronouns of the third person, a laxity common enough with the writers of the eighteenth century. One instance will suffice. Speaking of Pope and Warburton, Dr. Johnson tells us that:—"He [Pope] introduced him [Warburton] to Mr. Murray, by whose interest he became preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and to Mr. Allen, who gave him his niece and his estate, and by consequence a bishopric. When he died he left him the property of his works." The confusion and ambiguity could scarcely be worse. Another fault which sometimes occurs, is one of sentence structure. Although Johnson's sentences are usually short, they sometimes take the form of a long and loosely connected string of statements, grammatically connected, but having no logical coherence. It is possible that he now and then introduced these more colloquial paragraphs as a set off to the somewhat exaggerated abruptness and emphasis of his ordinary style.

His more elaborate sentences are carefully constructed with what musicians would call suspended resolutions; and differ in this way from what some one terms the flippant

¹ The antithesis, too, is often, as with Lyly, apparent rather than real.

snip-snap of Macaulay. His style is often harmonious, though it is not worthy to be compared in this respect with the style of Sir Thomas Browne, or with the best prose of Milton. It is often wanting in flexibility, and sometimes in vivacity. But it is always clear, weighty, and vigorous.

IV. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF SWIFT'S LIFE.

- 1667. Born at 7, Hoey's Court, Dublin (Nov. 30th).
- 1673. Placed at Kilkenny School.
His mother goes to Leicester.
- 1682. Entered at Trinity College, Dublin.
- 1686. Obtains his B.A. degree, *speciali gratiâ* (Feb.).
- 1688. Leaves Ireland and comes to Leicester.
- 1689. Goes to live with Sir W. Temple at Moor Park.
"Ode to Dr. Sancroft" and "Ode to Sir W. Temple" written (May-June).
- 1690. Returns to Ireland (May).
- 1691. Back again at Sir W. Temple's.
"Ode to the Athenian Society" written (Feb.).
- 1692. Obtains an M.A. degree at Oxford (July).
- 1693. The Triennial Bill contest: Swift's mission to the king.
Verses "To Mr. Congreve" written (Nov.).
"Verses on Sir W. Temple's Illness and Recovery" written (Dec.).
- 1694. Leaves Moor Park for the second time; and goes to Ireland.
Ordained deacon by Dr. Moreton, Bishop of Kildare¹ (Oct.).

¹ Not by Dr. King, Bishop of Derry, as Forster asserts. See Craik's "Swift," p. 48.

- 1695. Ordained priest by Dr. Moreton (Jan.).
Presented to the Prebend of Kilroot (Jan.).
Writes the "Tale of a Tub" and "Battle of the Books" (1695-1697).
- 1696. Makes love to Miss Waring (Varina).
Returns to Temple (May).
- 1697. Writes the "Battle of the Books" (?).
Resigns his living at Kilroot.
- 1699. Death of Sir W. Temple (Jan.).
Swift returns to Ireland as chaplain and secretary to Lord Berkeley.
- 1700. Receives the livings of Laracor, Agher and Rathbeggan (Feb.).
"Mrs. Frances Harris's Petition" written.
- 1701. Receives his D.D. degree at Dublin (Feb.).
Returns to England with Lord Berkeley (April).
"Dissensions in Athens and Rome" published.
Goes back to Ireland (Sept.).
Esther Johnson (Stella) goes to live in Ireland.
- 1702. In England (April-Oct.).
- 1703. In England (Nov. 1703-May, 1704).
- 1704. "Tale of a Tub" and "Battle of the Books" published (in one vol.).
- 1705. In London.
- 1707. In England (Nov.).
Attempts to get the First Fruits and Twentieths restored to the Irish Church (1707-1710).
- 1708. "Argument against Abolishing Christianity" published.
"Sentiments of a Church of England Man" published.
"Letter on the Sacramental Test" published.
"Prediction for the Year 1708" published.
"Death of Partridge" published.
- 1709. "Project for the Advancement of Religion."

1709. "The Tatler" begun (April).
"Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff" published.
Friendship with the Vanhomrighs in London.
1710. Trial of Sacheverell (Feb.-March).
Harley and St. John in power (August).
"Journal to Stella" begins (Sept.).
Edits the "Examiner" (Nov. 1710-June, 1711).
1711. "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse" published.
Scriblerus Club founded.
"Conduct of the Allies" published (Nov.).
1712. "Proposal for Correcting the English Tongue."
"Letter to the October Club."
"Remarks on the Barrier Treaty" published.
"History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne" written.
1713. Made Dean of St. Patrick's (April).
"Journal to Stella" ends (June).
Comes back to England (Sept.).
"Importance of the 'Guardian' considered" (Dec.).
1714. "The Public Spirit of the Whigs" published (March).
Death of Queen Anne (Aug. 1st).
1716. Married to Esther Johnson (?).
1717. "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse," by Swift, Pope, and others, published.
1720. "Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures" published.
1724. "The Drapier's Letters" published.
Carteret, Lord Lieutenant.
1726. In England (March-August).
"Gulliver's Travels" published (Nov.).
1727. In England for the last time (April-Sept.).
"A Short View of the State of Ireland" published.
1728. Esther Johnson dies (Jan.).

1729. "A Modest Proposal" published.
1731. "Verses on the Death of Dr. Swift" written.
1736. "The Legion Club" published.
1738. Sheridan leaves Dublin.
Swift becomes worse.
"Polite Conversation" published.
1742. Guardians appointed for Swift by Court of Chancery
(March).
He sinks into a state of lethargy.
1745. Dies Oct. 19th.

V. BOOKS RECOMMENDED.

- L. Stephen, "Swift."
Craik, "Life of Swift."
Forster, "Life of Swift" (only one volume published).
Orrery, "Remarks on the Life of Dr. Swift" (1751).
Delany, "Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks"
(1754).
Deane Swift, "Essay upon the Life of Dr. Swift"
(1755).
Churton Collins, "Jonathan Swift."
Wilde, "Closing Years of Dean Swift's Life."
Aitken, "Life of Steele" (2 vols.).
Swift's Works, edited by Scott (19 vols.).
There is an edition of Swift, in two volumes, handy for
reference, published by Bell and Sons.
Pope's Works, edited by Elwin and Courthope (10 vols.).

LIFE OF SWIFT.

SWIFT.

AN Account of Dr. Swift has been already collected, with great diligence and acuteness, by Dr. Hawkesworth, according to a scheme which I laid before him in the intimacy of our friendship. I cannot therefore be expected to say much of a life, concerning which I had long since communicated my thoughts to a man capable of dignifying his narration with so much elegance of language and force of sentiment.

Jonathan Swift was, according to an account said to be written by himself, the son of Jonathan Swift, an attorney, ¹⁰ and was born at Dublin on St. Andrew's day, 1667: according to his own report, as delivered by Pope to Spence, he was born at Leicester, the son of a clergyman, who was minister of a parish in Herefordshire. During his life the place of his birth was undetermined. He was contented to be called an Irishman by the Irish; but would occasionally call himself an Englishman. The question may, without much regret, be left in the obscurity in which he delighted to involve it.

Whatever was his birth, his education was Irish. He ²⁰ was sent at the age of six to the school at Kilkenny, and in his fifteenth year (1682) was admitted into the University of Dublin.

In his academical studies he was either not diligent or not happy. It must disappoint every reader's expectation, that, when at the usual time he claimed the Bachelorship

of Arts, he was found by the examiners too conspicuously deficient for regular admission, and obtained his degree at last by *special favour*; a term used in that university to denote want of merit.

Of this disgrace it may be easily supposed that he was much ashamed, and shame had its proper effect in producing reformation. He resolved from that time to study eight hours a-day, and continued his industry for seven years, with what improvement is sufficiently known.

10 This part of his story well deserves to be remembered; it may afford useful admonition and powerful encouragement to men, whose abilities have been made for a time useless by their passions or pleasures, and who, having lost one part of life in idleness, are tempted to throw away the remainder in despair.

In this course of daily application he continued three years longer at Dublin; and in this time, if the observation and memory of an old companion may be trusted, he drew the first sketch of his "Tale of a Tub."

20 When he was about one-and-twenty (1688), being by the death of Godwin Swift his uncle, who had supported him, left without subsistence, he went to consult his mother, who then lived at Leicester, about the future course of his life, and by her direction solicited the advice and patronage of Sir William Temple, who had married one of Mrs. Swift's relations, and whose father Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland, had lived in great familiarity of friendship with Godwin Swift, by whom Jonathan had been to that time maintained.

30 Temple received with sufficient kindness the nephew of his father's friend, with whom he was, when they conversed together, so much pleased that he detained him two years in his house. Here he became known to King William, who sometimes visited Temple when he was disabled by the gout, and, being attended by Swift in

the garden, shewed him how to cut asparagus in the Dutch way.

King William's notions were all military; and he expressed his kindness to Swift by offering to make him a captain of horse.

When Temple removed to Moor-park, he took Swift with him; and when he was consulted by the Earl of Portland about the expedience of complying with a bill then depending for making parliaments triennial, against which King William was strongly prejudiced, after having in vain 10 tried to shew the Earl that the proposal involved nothing dangerous to royal power, he sent Swift for the same purpose to the King. Swift, who probably was proud of his employment, and went with all the confidence of a young man, found his arguments, and his art of displaying them, made totally ineffectual by the pre-determination of the King; and used to mention this disappointment as his first antidote against vanity.

Before he left Ireland he contracted a disorder, as he thought, by eating too much fruit. The original of diseases 20 is commonly obscure. Almost every boy eats as much fruit as he can get, without any great inconvenience. The disease of Swift was giddiness with deafness, which attacked him from time to time, began very early, pursued him through life, and at last sent him to the grave, deprived of reason.

Being much oppressed at Moor-park by this grievous malady, he was advised to try his native air, and went to Ireland; but, finding no benefit, returned to Sir William, at whose house he continued his studies, and is known to 30 have read, among other books, "Cyprian" and "Irenæus." He thought exercise of great necessity, and used to run half a mile up and down a hill every two hours.

It is easy to imagine that the mode in which his first degree was conferred left him no great fondness for the

University of Dublin, and therefore he resolved to become a Master of Arts at Oxford. In the testimonial which he produced, the words of disgrace were omitted, and he took his Master's degree (July 5, 1692) with such reception and regard as fully contented him.

While he lived with Temple, he used to pay his mother at Leicester an yearly visit. He travelled on foot, unless some violence of weather drove him into a waggon, and at night he would go to a penny lodging, where he purchased
10 clean sheets for sixpence. This practice Lord Orrery imputes to his innate love of grossness and vulgarity: some may ascribe it to his desire of surveying human life through all its varieties; and others, perhaps with equal probability, to a passion which seems to have been deep fixed in his heart, the love of a shilling.

In time he began to think that his attendance at Moorpark deserved some other recompence than the pleasure, however mingled with improvement, of Temple's conversation; and grew so impatient, that (1694) he went away
20 in discontent.

Temple, conscious of having given reason for complaint, is said to have made him Deputy Master of the Rolls in Ireland; which, according to his kinsman's account, was an office which he knew him not able to discharge. Swift therefore resolved to enter into the Church, in which he had at first no higher hopes than of the chaplainship to the Factory at Lisbon; but being recommended to Lord Capel, he obtained the prebend of Kilroot in Connor, of about a hundred pounds a year.

30 But the infirmities of Temple made a companion like Swift so necessary, that he invited him back, with a promise to procure him English preferment, in exchange for the prebend which he desired him to resign. With this request Swift complied, having perhaps equally repented their separation, and they lived on together with mutual

satisfaction; and, in the four years that passed between his return and Temple's death, it is probable that he wrote the "Tale of a Tub" and the "Battle of the Books."

Swift began early to think, or to hope, that he was a poet, and wrote Pindarick Odes to Temple, to the King, and to the Athenian Society, a knot of obscure men, who published a periodical pamphlet of answers to questions, sent, or supposed to be sent, by Letters. I have been told that Dryden, having perused these verses, said, "Cousin Swift, you will never be a poet;" and that this denuncia- 10
tion was the motive of Swift's perpetual malevolence to Dryden.

In 1699 Temple died, and left a legacy with his manuscripts to Swift, for whom he had obtained, from King William, a promise of the first prebend that should be vacant at Westminster or Canterbury.

That this promise might not be forgotten, Swift dedicated to the King the posthumous works with which he was intrusted; but neither the dedication, nor tenderness for the man whom he once had treated with confidence and 20
fondness, revived in King William the remembrance of his promise. Swift awhile attended the Court; but soon found his solicitations hopeless.

He was then invited by the Earl of Berkeley to accompany him into Ireland, as his private secretary; but after having done the business till their arrival in Dublin, he then found that one *Bush* had persuaded the Earl that a Clergyman was not a proper secretary, and had obtained the office for himself. In a man like Swift, such circumven- 30
tion and inconstancy must have excited violent indignation.

But he had yet more to suffer. Lord Berkeley had the disposal of the deanery of Derry, and Swift expected to obtain it; but by the secretary's influence, supposed to have been secured by a bribe, it was bestowed on somebody else; and Swift was dismissed with the livings of *Laracor*

and *Rathbeggin* in the diocese of Meath, which together did not equal half the value of the deanery.

At Laracor he increased the parochial duty by reading prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and performed all the offices of his profession with great decency and exactness.

Soon after his settlement at Laracor, he invited to Ireland the unfortunate Stella, a young woman whose name was Johnson, the daughter of the steward of Sir William Temple, who, in consideration of her father's virtues, left
10 her a thousand pounds. With her came Mrs. Dingley, whose whole fortune was twenty-seven pounds a year for her life. With these Ladies he passed his hours of relaxation, and to them he opened his bosom; but they never resided in the same house, nor did he see either without a witness. They lived at the Parsonage, when Swift was away; and when he returned, removed to a lodging, or to the house of a neighbouring clergyman.

Swift was not one of those minds which amaze the world with early pregnancy: his first work, except his few poetical
20 cal Essays, was the "Dissensions in Athens and Rome," published (1701) in his thirty-fourth year. After its appearance, paying a visit to some bishop, he heard mention made of the new pamphlet that Burnet had written, replete with political knowledge. When he seemed to doubt Burnet's right to the work, he was told by the Bishop, that he was *a young man*; and, still persisting to doubt, that he was *a very positive young man*.

Three years afterward (1704) was published "The Tale of a Tub:" of this book charity may be persuaded to think
30 that it might be written by a man of a peculiar character, without ill intention; but it is certainly of dangerous example. That Swift was its author, though it be universally believed, was never owned by himself, nor very well proved by any evidence; but no other claimant can be produced, and he did not deny it when Archbishop Sharpe

and the Duchess of Somerset, by shewing it to the Queen, debarred him from a bishoprick.

When this wild work first raised the attention of the publick, Sacheverell, meeting Smalridge, tried to flatter him, by seeming to think him the author; but Smalridge answered with indignation, "Not all that you and I have in the world, nor all that ever we shall have, should hire me to write the 'Tale of a Tub.'"

The digressions relating to Wotton and Bentley must be confessed to discover want of knowledge, or want of integrity; he did not understand the two controversies, or he willingly misrepresented them. But Wit can stand its ground against Truth only a little while. The honours due to learning have been justly distributed by the decision of posterity.

"The Battle of the Books" is so like the "Combat des Livres," which the same question concerning the Ancients and Moderns had produced in France, that the improbability of such a coincidence of thoughts without communication is not, in my opinion, balanced by the anonymous protestation prefixed, in which all knowledge of the French book is peremptorily disowned.

For some time after Swift was probably employed in solitary study, gaining the qualifications requisite for future eminence. How often he visited England, and with what diligence he attended his parishes, I know not. It was not till about four years afterwards that he became a professed author, and then one year (1708) produced "The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man;" the ridicule of Astrology, under the name of "Bickerstaff;" the "Argument against abolishing Christianity;" and the defence of the "Sacramental Test."

"The Sentiments of a Church-of-England Man" is written with great coolness, moderation, ease, and perspicuity. The "Argument against abolishing Christianity"

is a very happy and judicious irony. One passage in it deserves to be selected.

"If Christianity were once abolished, how could the free-thinkers, the strong reasoners, and the men of profound learning, be able to find another subject so calculated, in all points, whereon to display their abilities? What wonderful productions of wit should we be deprived of from those, whose genius, by continual practice, hath been wholly turned upon raillery and invectives against
10 religion, and would therefore never be able to shine, or distinguish themselves, upon any other subject? We are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us, and would take away the greatest, perhaps the only, topick we have left. Who would ever have suspected Asgill for a wit, or Toland for a philosopher, if the inexhaustible stock of Christianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? What other subject, through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furnished him with readers? It is the wise choice of
20 the subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the writer. For had an hundred such pens as these been employed on the side of religion, they would have immediately sunk into silence and oblivion."

The reasonableness of a *Test* is not hard to be proved; but perhaps it must be allowed that the proper test has not been chosen.

The attention paid to the papers published under the name of *Bickerstaff* induced Steele, when he projected the "Tatler," to assume an appellation which had already
30 gained possession of the reader's notice.

In the year following he wrote a "Project for the Advancement of Religion," addressed to Lady Berkeley; by whose kindness it is not unlikely that he was advanced to his benefices. To this project, which is formed with great purity of intention, and displayed with spriteliness and

elegance, it can only be objected, that, like many projects, it is, if not generally impracticable, yet evidently hopeless, as it supposes more zeal, concord, and perseverance, than a view of mankind gives reason for expecting.

He wrote likewise this year a "Vindication of Bickerstaff;" and an explanation of an "Ancient Prophecy," part written after the facts, and the rest never completed, but well planned to excite amazement.

Soon after began the busy and important part of Swift's life. He was employed (1710) by the primate of Ireland to solicit the Queen for a remission of the First Fruits and Twentieth parts to the Irish Clergy. With this purpose he had recourse to Mr. Harley, to whom he was mentioned as a man neglected and oppressed by the last ministry, because he had refused to co-operate with some of their schemes. What he had refused, has never been told; what he had suffered was, I suppose, the exclusion from a bishoprick by the remonstrances of Sharpe, whom he describes as *the harmless tool of others hate*, and whom he represents as afterwards *suing for pardon*. 20

Harley's designs and situation were such as made him glad of an auxiliary so well qualified for his service; he therefore soon admitted him to familiarity, whether ever to confidence some have made a doubt; but it would have been difficult to excite his zeal without persuading him that he was trusted, and not very easy to delude him by false persuasions.

He was certainly admitted to those meetings in which the first hints and original plan of action are supposed to have been formed; and was one of the sixteen Ministers, or 30 agents of the Ministry, who met weekly at each other's houses, and were united by the name of *Brother*.

Being not immediately considered as an obdurate Tory, he conversed indiscriminately with all the wits, and was yet the friend of Steele; who, in the "Tatler," which began in

1710, confesses the advantages of his conversation, and mentions something contributed by him to his paper. But he was now immersing into political controversy; for the same year produced the "Examiner," of which Swift wrote thirty-three papers. In argument he may be allowed to have the advantage; for where a wide system of conduct, and the whole of a publick character, is laid open to enquiry, the accuser having the choice of facts, must be very unskilful if he does not prevail: but with regard
10 to wit, I am afraid none of Swift's papers will be found equal to those by which Addison opposed him.

Early in the next year he published a "Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue," in a Letter to the Earl of Oxford; written without much knowledge of the general nature of language, and without any accurate enquiry into the history of other tongues. The certainty and stability which, contrary to all experience, he thinks attainable, he proposes to secure by instituting an academy; the decrees of which every man
20 would have been willing, and many would have been proud to disobey, and which, being renewed by successive elections, would in a short time have differed from itself.

He wrote the same year a "Letter to the October Club," a number of Tory Gentlemen sent from the country to Parliament, who formed themselves into a club, to the number of about a hundred, and met to animate the zeal and raise the expectations of each other. They thought, with great reason, that the Ministers were losing opportunities; that sufficient use was not made of the ardour of the nation;
30 they called loudly for more changes, and stronger efforts; and demanded the punishment of part, and the dismissal of the rest, of those whom they considered as publick robbers.

Their eagerness was not gratified by the Queen, or by Harley. The Queen was probably slow because she was afraid, and Harley was slow because he was doubtful; he

was a tory only by necessity, or for convenience; and when he had power in his hands, had no settled purpose for which he should employ it; forced to gratify to a certain degree the Tories who supported him, but unwilling to make his reconciliation to the Whigs utterly desperate, he corresponded at once with the two expectants of the Crown, and kept, as has been observed, the succession undetermined. Not knowing what to do, he did nothing; and with the fate of a double-dealer, at last he lost his power, but kept his enemies. 10

Swift seems to have concurred in opinion with the *October Club*; but it was not in his power to quicken the tardiness of Harley, whom he stimulated as much as he could, but with little effect. He that knows not whither to go, is in no haste to move. Harley, who was perhaps not quick by nature, became yet more slow by irresolution; and was content to hear that dilatoriness lamented as natural, which he applauded in himself as politick.

Without the Tories, however, nothing could be done; 20 and as they were not to be gratified, they must be appeased; and the conduct of the Minister, if it could not be vindicated, was to be plausibly excused.

Swift now attained the zenith of his political importance: he published (1712) the "Conduct of the Allies," ten days before the Parliament assembled. The purpose was to persuade the nation to a peace; and never had any writer more success. The people, who had been amused with bonfires and triumphal processions, and looked with idolatry on the General and his friends, who, as they 30 thought had made England the arbitress of nations, were confounded between shame and rage, when they found that *mines had been exhausted, and millions destroyed*, to secure the Dutch or aggrandize the emperor, without any advantage to ourselves; that we had been bribing our

neighbours to fight their own quarrel; and that amongst our enemies we might number our allies.

That is now no longer doubted, of which the nation was then first informed, that the war was unnecessarily protracted to fill the pockets of Marlborough; and that it would have been continued without end, if he could have continued his annual plunder. But Swift, I suppose, did not yet know what he has since written, that a commission was drawn which would have appointed him General for 10 life, had it not become ineffectual by the resolution of Lord Cowper, who refused the seal.

Whatever is received, say the schools, is received in proportion to the recipient. The power of a political treatise depends much upon the disposition of the people; the nation was then combustible, and a spark set it on fire. It is boasted, that between November and January eleven thousand were sold; a great number at that time, when we were not yet a nation of readers. To its propagation certainly no agency of power or influence was wanting. It 20 furnished arguments for conversation, speeches for debate, and materials for parliamentary resolutions.

Yet, surely, whoever surveys this wonder-working pamphlet with cool perusal, will confess that its efficacy was supplied by the passions of its readers; that it operates by the mere weight of facts, with very little assistance from the hand that produced them.

This year (1712) he published his "Reflections on the Barrier Treaty," which carries on the design of his "Conduct of the Allies," and shews how little regard in that 30 negotiation had been shewn to the interest of England, and how much of the conquered country had been demanded by the Dutch.

This was followed by "Remarks on the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction to his third Volume of the History of the Reformation;" a pamphlet which Burnet published

as an alarm, to warn the nation of the approach of Popery. Swift, who seems to have disliked the Bishop with something more than political aversion, treats him like one whom he is glad of an opportunity to insult.

Swift, being now the declared favourite and supposed confidant of the Tory Ministry, was treated by all that depended on the Court with the respect which dependents know how to pay. He soon began to feel part of the misery of greatness; he that could say he knew him, considered himself as having fortune in his power. Commissions, solicitations, remonstrances, crowded about him; he was expected to do every man's business, to procure employment for one, and to retain it for another. In assisting those who addressed him, he represents himself as sufficiently diligent; and desires to have others believe, what he probably believed himself, that by his interposition many Whigs of merit, and among them Addison and Congreve, were continued in their places. But every man of known influence has so many petitions which he cannot grant, that he must necessarily offend more than he gratifies, because the preference given to one affords all the rest a reason for complaint. *When I give away a place, said Lewis XIV. I make an hundred discontented, and one ungrateful.*

Much has been said of the equality and independence which he preserved in his conversation with the Ministers, of the frankness of his remonstrances, and the familiarity of his friendship. In accounts of this kind a few single incidents are set against the general tenour of behaviour. No man, however, can pay a more servile tribute to the 30 Great, than by suffering his liberty in their presence to aggrandize him in his own esteem. Between different ranks of the community there is necessarily some distance: he who is called by his superior to pass the interval, may properly accept the invitation; but petulance and obtrusion

are rarely produced by magnanimity; nor have often any nobler cause than the pride of importance, and the malice of inferiority. He who knows himself necessary may set, while that necessity lasts, a high value upon himself; as, in a lower condition, a servant eminently skilful may be saucy; but he is saucy only because he is servile. Swift appears to have preserved the kindness of the great when they wanted him no longer; and therefore it must be allowed, that the childish freedom, to which he seems
10 enough inclined, was overpowered by his better qualities.

His disinterestedness has been likewise mentioned; a strain of heroism, which would have been in his condition romantick and superfluous. Ecclesiastical benefices, when they become vacant, must be given away; and the friends of Power may, if there be no inherent disqualification, reasonably expect them. Swift accepted (1713) the deanery of St. Patrick, the best preferment that his friends could venture to give him. That Ministry was in a great degree supported by the Clergy, who were not yet reconciled to
20 the author of the "Tale of a Tub," and would not without much discontent and indignation have borne to see him installed in an English Cathedral.

He refused, indeed, fifty pounds from Lord Oxford; but he accepted afterwards a draught of a thousand upon the Exchequer, which was intercepted by the Queen's death, and which he resigned, as he says himself, *multa gemens, with many a groan.*

In the midst of his power and his politicks, he kept a journal of his visits, his walks, his interviews with
30 Ministers, and quarrels with his servant, and transmitted it to Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Dingley, to whom he knew that whatever befel him was interesting, and no accounts could be too minute. Whether these diurnal trifles were properly exposed to eyes which had never received any pleasure from the presence of the Dean, may be reasonably

doubted: they have, however, some odd attraction; the reader, finding frequent mention of names which he has been used to consider as important, goes on in hope of information; and, as there is nothing to fatigue attention, if he is disappointed he can hardly complain. It is easy to perceive, from every page, that though ambition pressed Swift into a life of bustle, the wish for a life of ease was always returning.

He went to take possession of his deanery, as soon as he had obtained it; but he was not suffered to stay in Ireland 10 more than a fortnight before he was recalled to England, that he might reconcile Lord Oxford and Lord Bolingbroke, who began to look on one another with malevolence, which every day increased, and which Bolingbroke appeared to retain in his last years.

Swift contrived an interview, from which they both departed discontented: he procured a second which only convinced him that the feud was irreconcilable; he told them his opinion, that all was lost. This denunciation was contradicted by Oxford, but Bolingbroke whispered 20 that he was right.

Before this violent dissension had shattered the Ministry, Swift had published, in the beginning of the year (1714), "The Publick Spirit of the Whigs," in answer to "The Crisis," a pamphlet for which Steele was expelled from the House of Commons. Swift was now so far alienated from Steele as to think him no longer entitled to decency, and therefore treats him sometimes with contempt, and sometimes with abhorrence.

In this pamphlet the Scotch were mentioned in terms so 30 provoking to that irritable nation, that, resolving *not to be offended with impunity*, the Scotch Lords in a body demanded an audience of the Queen, and solicited reparation. A proclamation was issued, in which three hundred pounds was offered for discovery of the author. From this storm

he was, as he relates, *secured by a sleight* ; of what kind, or by whose prudence, is not known ; and such was the increase of his reputation, that the *Scottish Nation applied again that he would be their friend.*

He was become so formidable to the Whigs, that his familiarity with the Ministers was clamoured at in Parliament, particularly by two men, afterwards of great note, Aislabie and Walpole.

But, by the disunion of his great friends, his importance
10 and his designs were now at an end ; and seeing his services at last useless, he retired about June (1714) into Berkshire, where, in the house of a friend, he wrote what was then suppressed, but has since appeared under the title of "Free Thoughts on the present State of Affairs."

While he was waiting in this retirement for events which time or chance might bring to pass, the death of the Queen broke down at once the whole system of Tory Politicks ; and nothing remained but to withdraw from the implacability of triumphant Whiggism, and shelter himself in un-
20 envied obscurity.

The accounts of his reception in Ireland, given by Lord Orrery and Dr. Delany, are so different, that the credit of the writers, both undoubtedly veracious, cannot be saved, but by supposing, what I think is true, that they speak of different times. When Delany says that he was received with respect, he means for the first fortnight, when he came to take legal possession ; and when Lord Orrery tells that he was pelted by the populace, he is to be understood of the time when, after the Queen's death, he became
30 a settled resident.

The Archbishop of Dublin gave him at first some disturbance in the exercise of his jurisdiction ; but it was soon discovered, that between prudence and integrity he was seldom in the wrong ; and that, when he was right, his spirit did not easily yield to opposition.

Having so lately quitted the tumults of a party and the intrigues of a court, they still kept his thoughts in agitation, as the sea fluctuates awhile when the storm has ceased. He therefore filled his hours with some historical attempts, relating to the *Change of the Ministers* and the *Conduct of the Ministry*. He likewise is said to have written a "History of the Four last Years of Queen Anne," which he began in her lifetime, and afterwards laboured with great attention, but never published. It was after his death in the hands of Lord Orrery and Dr. 10 King. A book under that title was published, with Swift's name, by Dr. Lucas; of which I can only say, that it seemed by no means to correspond with the notions that I had formed of it, from a conversation which I once heard between the Earl of Orrery and old Mr. Lewis.

Swift now, much against his will, commenced Irishman for life, and was to contrive how he might be best accommodated in a country where he considered himself as in a state of exile. It seems that his first recourse was to piety. The thoughts of death rushed upon him, at this time, with 20 such incessant importunity, that they took possession of his mind, when he first waked, for many years together.

He opened his house by a publick table two days a week, and found his entertainments gradually frequented by more and more visitants of learning among the men, and of elegance among the women. Mrs. Johnson had left the country, and lived in lodgings not far from the deanery. On his publick days she regulated the table, but appeared at it as a mere guest, like other Ladies.

On other days he often dined, at a stated price, with 30 Mr. Worrall, a clergyman of his cathedral, whose house was recommended by the peculiar neatness and pleasantry of his wife. To this frugal mode of living, he was first disposed by care to pay some debts which he had contracted, and he continued it for the pleasure of accumulating

money. His avarice, however, was not suffered to obstruct the claims of his dignity; he was served in plate, and used to say that he was the poorest gentleman in Ireland that eat upon plate, and the richest that lived without a coach.

How he spent the rest of his time, and how he employed his hours of study, has been enquired with hopeless curiosity. For who can give an account of another's studies? Swift was not likely to admit any to his privacies, or to impart a minute account of his business or his leisure.
10 Soon after (1716), in his forty-ninth year, he was privately married to Mrs. Johnson by Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, as Dr. Madden told me, in the garden. The marriage made no change in their mode of life; they lived in different houses, as before; nor did she ever lodge in the deanery but when Swift was seized with a fit of giddiness. "It would be difficult," says Lord Orrery, "to prove that they were ever afterwards together without a third person."

The Dean of St. Patrick's lived in a private manner,
20 known and regarded only by his friends, till, about the year 1720, he, by a pamphlet, recommended to the Irish the use, and consequently the improvement, of their manufacture. For a man to use the productions of his own labour is surely a natural right, and to like best what he makes himself is a natural passion. But to excite this passion, and enforce this right, appeared so criminal to those who had an interest in the English trade, that the printer was imprisoned; and, as Hawkesworth justly
30 observes, the attention of the publick being by this outrageous resentment turned upon the proposal, the author was by consequence made popular.

In 1723 died Mrs. Van Homrigh, a woman made unhappy by her admiration of wit, and ignominiously distinguished by the name of *Vanessa*, whose conduct has been already sufficiently discussed, and whose history is too well known

to be minutely repeated. She was a young woman fond of literature, whom Decanus the Dean, called *Cadenus* by transposition of the letters, took pleasure in directing and instructing; till, from being proud of his praise, she grew fond of his person. Swift was then about forty-seven, at an age when vanity is strongly excited by the amorous attention of a young woman. If it be said that Swift should have checked a passion which he never meant to gratify, recourse must be had to that extenuation which he so much despised, *men are but men*: perhaps however 10 he did not at first know his own mind, and, as he represents himself, was undetermined. For his admission of her courtship, and his indulgence of her hopes after his marriage to Stella, no other honest plea can be found, than that he delayed a disagreeable discovery from time to time, dreading the immediate bursts of distress, and watching for a favourable moment. She thought herself neglected, and died of disappointment; having ordered by her will the poem to be published, in which *Cadenus* had proclaimed her excellence, and confessed his love. The effect of 20 the publication upon the Dean and Stella is thus related by Delany.

"I have good reason to believe, that they both were greatly shocked and distressed (though it may be differently) upon this occasion. The Dean made a tour to the South of Ireland, for about two months, at this time, to dissipate his thoughts, and give place to obloquy. And Stella retired (upon the earnest invitation of the owner) to the house of a cheerful, generous, good-natured friend of the Dean's, whom she also much loved and honoured. 30 There my informer often saw her; and, I have reason to believe, used his utmost endeavours to relieve, support, and amuse her, in this sad situation.

"One little incident he told me of, on that occasion, I think I shall never forget. As her friend was an hos-

pitiable, open-hearted man, well-beloved, and largely acquainted, it happened one day that some gentlemen dropt in to dinner, who were stranger to Stella's situation; and as the poem of 'Cadenus and Vanessa' was then the general topic of conversation, one of them said, 'Surely that Vanessa must be an extraordinary woman, that could inspire the Dean to write so finely upon her.' Mrs. Johnson smiled, and answered, 'that she thought that point not quite so clear; for it was well known the Dean could write
10 finely upon a broomstick.' "

The great acquisition of esteem and influence was made by the "Drapier's Letters" in 1724. One Wood of Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, a man enterprising and rapacious, had, as is said, by a present to the Duchess of Munster, obtained a patent, empowering him to coin one hundred and eighty thousand pounds of halfpence and farthings for the kingdom of Ireland, in which there was a very inconvenient and embarrassing scarcity of copper coin; so that it was possible to run in debt upon the credit
20 of a piece of money; for the cook or keeper of an ale-house could not refuse to supply a man that had silver in his hand, and the buyer would not leave his money without change.

The project was therefore plausible. The scarcity, which was already great, Wood took care to make greater, by agents who gathered up the old half-pence; and was about to turn his brass into gold, by pouring the treasures of his new mint upon Ireland, when Swift, finding the metal was debased to an enormous degree, wrote Letters, under the name of M. B. Drapier, to shew the folly of receiving, and
30 the mischief that must ensue, by giving gold and silver for coin worth perhaps not a third part of its nominal value.

The nation was alarmed; the new coin was universally refused: but the governors of Ireland considered resistance to the King's patent as highly criminal; and one Whitshed, then Chief Justice, who had tried the printer of the former

pamphlet, and sent out the Jury nine times, till by clamour and menaces they were frightened into a special verdict, now presented the Drapier, but could not prevail on the Grand Jury to find the bill.

Lord Carteret and the Privy Council published a proclamation, offering three hundred pounds for discovering the author of the Fourth Letter. Swift had concealed himself from his printers, and trusted only his butler, who transcribed the paper. The man, immediately after the appearance of the proclamation, strolled from the house, 10 and staid out all night, and part of the next day. There was reason enough to fear that he had betrayed his master for the reward; but he came home, and the Dean ordered him to put off his livery, and leave the house; "for," says he, "I know that my life is in your power, and I will not bear, out of fear, either your insolence or negligence." The man excused his fault with great submission, and begged that he might be confined in the house while it was in his power to endanger his master; but the Dean resolutely turned him out, without taking farther notice of him, till the term 20 of information had expired, and then received him again. Soon afterwards he ordered him and the rest of the servants into his presence, without telling his intentions, and bade them take notice that their fellow-servant was no longer Robert the butler; but that his integrity had made him Mr. Blakeney, verger of St. Patrick's; an officer whose income was between thirty and forty pounds a year: yet he still continued for some years to serve his old master as his butler.

Swift was known from this time by the appellation of *The Dean*. He was honoured by the populace, as the 30 champion, patron, and instructor of Ireland; and gained such power as, considered both in its extent and duration, scarcely any man has ever enjoyed without greater wealth or higher station.

He was from this important year the oracle of the

traders, and the idol of the rabble, and by consequence was feared and courted by all to whom the kindness of the traders or the populace was necessary. The *Drapier* was a sign; the *Drapier* was a health; and which way soever the eye or the ear was turned, some tokens were found of the nation's gratitude to the *Drapier*.

The benefit was indeed great; he had rescued Ireland from a very oppressive and predatory invasion; and the popularity which he had gained he was diligent to keep, by
10 appearing forward and zealous on every occasion where the publick interest was supposed to be involved. Nor did he much scruple to boast his influence; for when, upon some attempts to regulate the coin, Archbishop Boulter, then one of the Justices, accused him of exasperating the people, he exculpated himself by saying, "If I had lifted up my finger, they would have torn you to pieces."

But the pleasure of popularity was soon interrupted by domestic misery. Mrs. Johnson, whose conversation was to him the great softener of the ills of life, began in the
20 year of the *Drapier's* triumph to decline; and two years afterwards was so wasted with sickness, that her recovery was considered as hopeless.

Swift was then in England, and had been invited by Lord Bolingbroke to pass the winter with him in France; but this call of calamity hastened him to Ireland, where perhaps his presence contributed to restore her to imperfect and tottering health.

He was now so much at ease, that (1727) he returned to England; where he collected three volumes of *Miscellanies*
30 in conjunction with Pope, who prefixed a querulous and apologetical Preface.

This important year sent likewise into the world "Gulliver's Travels," a production so new and strange, that it filled the reader with a mingled emotion of merri-ment and amazement. It was received with such avidity,

that the price of the first edition was raised before the second could be made; it was read by the high and the low, the learned and illiterate. Criticism was for a while lost in wonder; no rules of judgement were applied to a book written in open defiance of truth and regularity. But when distinctions came to be made, the part which gave least pleasure was that which describes the *Flying Island*, and that which gave the most disgust must be the history of the *Houyhnhnms*.

While Swift was enjoying the reputation of his new 10 work, the news of the king's death arrived; and he kissed the hands of the new King and Queen three days after their accession.

By the Queen, when she was Princess, he had been treated with some distinction, and was well received by her in her exaltation; but whether she gave hopes which she never took care to satisfy, or he formed expectations which she never meant to raise, the event was, that he always afterwards thought on her with malevolence, and particularly charged her with breaking her promise of some medals 20 which she engaged to send him.

I know not whether she had not, in her turn, some reason for complaint. A Letter was sent her, not so much entreating as requiring her patronage of Mrs. Barber, an ingenious Irishwoman, who was then begging subscriptions for her Poems. To this Letter was subscribed the name of *Swift*, and it has all the appearances of his diction and sentiments; but it was not written in his hand, and had some little improprieties. When he was charged with this Letter, he laid hold of the inaccuracies, and urged the im- 30 probability of the accusation; but never denied it: he shuffles between cowardice and veracity, and talks big when he says nothing.

He seemed desirous enough of recommencing courtier, and endeavoured to gain the kindness of Mrs. Howard,

remembering what Mrs. Masham had performed in former times; but his flatteries were, like those of the other wits, unsuccessful; the Lady either wanted power, or had no ambition of poetical immortality.

He was seized not long afterwards by a fit of giddiness, and again heard of the sickness and danger of Mrs. Johnson. He then left the house of Pope, as it seems, with very little ceremony, finding that *two sick friends cannot live together*; and did not write to him till he found himself at Chester.

10 He returned to a home of sorrow: poor Stella was sinking into the grave, and, after a languishing decay of about two months, died in her forty-fourth year, on January 28, 1728. How much he wished her life, his papers shew; nor can it be doubted that he dreaded the death of her whom he loved most, aggravated by the consciousness that himself had hastened it.

Beauty and the power of pleasing, the greatest external advantages that woman can desire or possess, were fatal to the unfortunate Stella. The man whom she had the mis-
20 fortune to love was, as Delany observes, fond of singularity, and desirous to make a mode of happiness for himself, different from the general course of things and order of Providence. From the time of her arrival in Ireland he seems resolved to keep her in his power, and therefore hindered a match sufficiently advantageous, by accumulating unreasonable demands, and prescribing conditions that could not be performed. While she was at her own disposal he did not consider his possession as secure; resentment, ambition, or caprice, might separate them; he
30 was therefore resolved to make *assurance double sure*, and to appropriate her by a private marriage, to which he had annexed the expectation of all the pleasures of perfect friendship, without the uneasiness of conjugal restraint. But with this state poor Stella was not satisfied; she never was treated as a wife, and to the world she had the appear-

ance of a mistress. She lived sullenly on, in hope that in time he would own and receive her; but the time did not come till the change of his manners and depravation of his mind made her tell him, when he offered to acknowledge her, that *it was too late*. She then gave up herself to sorrowful resentment, and died under the tyranny of him, by whom she was in the highest degree loved and honoured.

What were her claims to this excentrick tenderness, by which the laws of nature were violated to retain her, curiosity will enquire; but how shall it be gratified? 10 Swift was a lover; his testimony may be suspected. Delany and the Irish saw with Swift's eyes, and therefore add little confirmation. That she was virtuous, beautiful, and elegant, in a very high degree, such admiration from such a lover makes it very probable; but she had not much literature, for she could not spell her own language; and of her wit, so loudly vaunted, the smart sayings which Swift himself has collected afford no splendid specimen.

The reader of Swift's "Letter to a Lady on her Marriage," may be allowed to doubt whether his opinion of 20 female excellence ought implicitly to be admitted; for if his general thoughts on women were such as he exhibits, a very little sense in a Lady would enrapture, and a very little virtue would astonish him. Stella's supremacy, therefore, was perhaps only local; she was great, because her associates were little.

In some Remarks lately published on the "Life of Swift," this marriage is mentioned as fabulous, or doubtful; but, alas! poor Stella, as Dr. Madden told me, related her melancholy story to Dr. Sheridan, when he attended 30 her as a clergyman to prepare her for death; and Delany mentions it not with doubt, but only with regret. Swift never mentioned her without a sigh.

The rest of his life was spent in Ireland, in a country to which not even power almost despotick, nor flattery almost

idolatrous, could reconcile him. He sometimes wished to visit England, but always found some reason of delay. He tells Pope, in the decline of life, that he hopes once more to see him; *but if not, says he, we must part, as all human beings have parted.*

After the death of Stella, his benevolence was contracted, and his severity exasperated; he drove his acquaintance from his table, and wondered why he was deserted. But he continued his attention to the publick, and wrote from
10 time to time such directions, admonitions, or censures, as the exigency of affairs, in his opinion, made proper; and nothing fell from his pen in vain.

In a short poem on the Presbyterians, whom he always regarded with detestation, he bestowed one stricture upon Bettesworth, a lawyer eminent for his insolence to the clergy, which, from very considerable reputation, brought him into immediate and universal contempt. Bettesworth, enraged at his disgrace and loss, went to Swift, and demanded whether he was the author of that poem? "Mr.
20 Bettesworth," answered he, "I was in my youth acquainted with great lawyers, who, knowing my disposition to satire, advised me, that, if any scoundrel or blockhead whom I had lampooned should ask, *Are you the author of this paper?* I should tell him that I was not the author; and therefore I tell you, Mr. Bettesworth, that I am not the author of these lines."

Bettesworth was so little satisfied with this account, that he publicly professed his resolution of a violent and corporal revenge; but the inhabitants of St. Patrick's dis-
30 trict embodied themselves in the Dean's defence. Bettesworth declared in Parliament, that Swift had deprived him of twelve hundred pounds a year.

Swift was popular a while by another mode of beneficence. He set aside some hundreds to be lent in small sums to the poor, from five shillings, I think, to five

pounds. He took no interest, and only required that, at repayment, a small fee should be given to the accomptant; but he required that the day of promised payment should be exactly kept. A severe and punctilious temper is ill qualified for transactions with the poor; the day was often broken, and the loan was not repaid. This might have been easily foreseen; but for this Swift had made no provision of patience or pity. He ordered his debtors to be sued. A severe creditor has no popular character; what then was likely to be said of him who employs the catchpoll 10 under the appearance of charity? The clamour against him was loud, and the resentment of the populace outrageous; he was therefore forced to drop his scheme, and own the folly of expecting punctuality from the poor.

His asperity continually increasing, condemned him to solitude; and his resentment of solitude sharpened his asperity. He was not, however, totally deserted: some men of learning, and some women of elegance, often visited him; and he wrote from time to time either verse or prose; of his verses he willingly gave copies, and is supposed to 20 have felt no discontent when he saw them printed. His favourite maxim was *vive la bagatelle*; he thought trifles a necessary part of life, and perhaps found them necessary to himself. It seems impossible to him to be idle, and his disorders made it difficult or dangerous to be long seriously studious, or laboriously diligent. The love of ease is always gaining upon age, and he had one temptation to petty amusements peculiar to himself; whatever he did, he was sure to hear applauded; and such was his predominance over all that approached, that all their applauses 30 were probably sincere. He that is much flattered, soon learns to flatter himself: we are commonly taught our duty by fear or shame, and how can they act upon the man who hears nothing but his own praises?

As his years increased, his fits of giddiness and deafness

grew more frequent, and his deafness made conversation difficult ; they grew likewise more severe, till in 1736, as he was writing a poem called " The Legion Club," he was seized with a fit so painful, and so long continued, that he never after thought it proper to attempt any work of thought or labour.

He was always careful of his money, and was therefore no liberal entertainer ; but was less frugal of his wine than of his meat. When his friends of either sex came to him, 10 in expectation of a dinner, his custom was to give every one a shilling, that they might please themselves with their provision. At last his avarice grew too powerful for his kindness ; he would refuse a bottle of wine, and in Ireland no man visits where he cannot drink.

Having thus excluded conversation, and desisted from study, he had neither business nor amusement ; for having, by some ridiculous resolution or mad vow, determined never to wear spectacles, he could make little use of books in his later years : his ideas, therefore, being neither reno- 20 vated by discourse, nor increased by reading, wore gradually away, and left his mind vacant to the vexations of the hour, till at last his anger was heightened into madness.

He however permitted one book to be published, which had been the production of former years ; " Polite Conversation," which appeared in 1738. The " Directions for Servants " was printed soon after his death. These two performances shew a mind incessantly attentive, and, when it was not employed upon great things, busy with minute occurrences. It is apparent that he must have had the 30 habit of noting whatever he observed ; for such a number of particulars could never have been assembled by the power of recollection.

He grew more violent ; and his mental powers declined till (1741) it was found necessary that legal guardians should be appointed of his person and fortune. He now

lost distinction. His madness was compounded of rage and fatuity. The last face that he knew was that of Mrs. Whiteway, and her he ceased to know in a little time. His meat was brought him cut into mouthfuls; but he would never touch it while the servant staid, and at last, after it had stood perhaps an hour, would eat it walking; for he continued his old habit, and was on his feet ten hours a-day.

Next year (1742) he had an inflammation in his left eye, which swelled it to the size of an egg, with boils in other parts; he was kept long waking with the pain, and was ¹⁰ not easily restrained by five attendants from tearing out his eye.

The tumour at last subsided; and a short interval of reason ensuing, in which he knew his physician and his family, gave hopes of his recovery; but in a few days he sunk into lethargick stupidity, motionless, heedless, and speechless. But it is said, that, after a year of total silence, when his housekeeper, on the 30th of November, told him that the usual bonfires and illuminations were preparing to celebrate his birth-day, he answered, *It is all folly; they* ²⁰ *had better let it alone.*

It is remembered that he afterwards spoke now and then, or gave some intimation of a meaning; but at last sunk into perfect silence, which continued till about the end of October, 1744, when, in his seventy-eighth year, he expired without a struggle.

When Swift is considered as an author, it is just to estimate his powers by their effects. In the reign of Queen Anne he turned the stream of popularity against ³⁰ the Whigs, and must be confessed to have dictated for a time the political opinions of the English nation. In the succeeding reign he delivered Ireland from plunder and oppression; and shewed that wit, confederated with truth, had such force as authority was unable to resist. He said

truly of himself, that Ireland *was his debtor*. It was from the time when he first began to patronize the Irish, that they may date their riches and prosperity. He taught them first to know their own interest, their weight, and their strength, and gave them spirit to assert that equality with their fellow-subjects to which they have ever since been making vigorous advances, and to claim those rights which they have at last established. Nor can they be charged with ingratitude to their benefactor; for they re-
10 nenced him as a guardian, and obeyed him as a dictator.

In his works, he has given very different specimens both of sentiment and expression. His "Tale of a Tub" has little resemblance to his other pieces. It exhibits a vehemence and rapidity of mind, a copiousness of images, and vivacity of diction, such as he afterwards never possessed, or never exerted. It is of a mode so distinct and peculiar, that it must be considered by itself; what is true of that, is not true of any thing else which he has written.

In his other works is found an equable tenour of easy
20 language, which rather trickles than flows. His delight was in simplicity. That he has in his works no metaphor, as has been said, is not true; but his few metaphors seem to be received rather by necessity than choice. He studied purity; and though perhaps all his strictures are not exact, yet it is not often that solecisms can be found; and whoever depends on his authority may generally conclude himself safe. His sentences are never too much dilated or contracted; and it will not be easy to find any embarrassment in the complication of his clauses, any inconsequence
30 in his connections, or abruptness in his transitions.

His style was well suited to his thoughts, which are never subtilised by nice disquisitions, decorated by sparkling conceits, elevated by ambitious sentences, or variegated by far-sought learning. He pays no court to the passions; he excites neither surprise nor admiration; he always

understands himself: and his reader always understands him: the peruser of Swift wants little previous knowledge; it will be sufficient that he is acquainted with common words and common things; he is neither required to mount elevations, nor to explore profundities; his passage is always on the level, along solid ground, without asperities, without obstruction.

This easy and safe conveyance of meaning it was Swift's desire to attain, and for having attained he deserves praise, though perhaps not the highest praise. For purposes 10 merely didactick, when something is to be told that was not known before, it is the best mode, but against that inattention by which known truths are suffered to lie neglected, it makes no provision; it instructs, but does not persuade.

By his political education he was associated with the Whigs; but he deserted them when they deserted their principles, yet without running into the contrary extreme; he continued throughout his life to retain the disposition which he assigns to the *Church-of-England Man*, of thinking commonly with the Whigs of the State, and with the 20 Tories of the Church.

He was a churchman rationally zealous; he desired the prosperity, and maintained the honour of the Clergy; of the Dissenters he did not wish to infringe the toleration, but he opposed their encroachments.

To his duty as Dean he was very attentive. He managed the revenues of his church with exact œconomy; and it is said by Delany, that more money was, under his direction, laid out in repairs than had ever been in the same time since its first erection. Of his choir he was eminently 30 careful; and, though he neither loved nor understood musick, took care that all the singers were well qualified, admitting none without the testimony of skilful judges.

In his church he restored the practice of weekly communion, and distributed the sacramental elements in the

most solemn and devout manner with his own hand. He came to church every morning, preached commonly in his turn, and attended the evening anthem, that it might not be negligently performed.

He read the service *rather with a strong nervous voice than in a graceful manner ; his voice was sharp and high-toned, rather than harmonious.*

He entered upon the clerical state with hope to excel in preaching ; but complained, that, from the time of his
10 political controversies, *he could only preach pamphlets.* This censure of himself, if judgement be made from those sermons which have been published, was unreasonably severe.

The suspicions of his irreligion proceeded in a great measure from his dread of hypocrisy ; instead of wishing to seem better, he delighted in seeming worse than he was. He went in London to early prayers, lest he should be seen at church ; he read prayers to his servants every morning with such dexterous secrecy, that Dr. Delany was six
20 months in his house before he knew it. He was not only careful to hide the good which he did, but willingly incurred the suspicion of evil which he did not. He forgot what himself had formerly asserted, that hypocrisy is less mischievous than open impiety. Dr. Delany, with all his zeal for his honour, has justly condemned this part of his character.

The person of Swift had not many recommendations. He had a kind of muddy complexion, which, though he washed himself with oriental scrupulosity, did not look
30 clear. He had a countenance sour and severe, which he seldom softened by any appearance of gaiety. He stubbornly resisted any tendency to laughter.

To his domesticks he was naturally rough : and a man of a rigorous temper, with that vigilance of minute attention which his works discover, must have been a master that

few could bear. That he was disposed to do his servants good, on important occasions, is no great mitigation; benefaction can be but rare, and tyrannick peevishness is perpetual. He did not spare the servants of others. Once, when he dined alone with the Earl of Orrery, he said, of one that waited in the room, *That man has, since we sat to the table, committed fifteen faults.* What the faults were, Lord Orrery, from whom I heard the story, had not been attentive enough to discover. My number may perhaps not be exact. 10

In his oeconomy he practised a peculiar and offensive parsimony, without disguise or apology. The practice of saving being once necessary, became habitual, and grew first ridiculous, and at last detestable. But his avarice, though it might exclude pleasure, was never suffered to encroach upon his virtue. He was frugal by inclination, but liberal by principle; and if the purpose to which he destined his little accumulations be remembered, with his distribution of occasional charity, it will perhaps appear that he only liked one mode of expence better than another, and 20 saved merely that he might have something to give. He did not grow rich by injuring his successors, but left both Laracor and the Deanery more valuable than he found them.—With all this talk of his covetousness and generosity, it should be remembered that he was never rich. The revenue of his Deanery was not much more than seven hundred a year.

His beneficence was not graced with tenderness or civility; he relieved without pity, and assisted without kindness, so that those who were fed by him could hardly 30 love him.

He made a rule to himself to give but one piece at a time, and therefore always stored his pocket with coins of different value.

Whatever he did, he seemed willing to do in a manner

peculiar to himself, without sufficiently considering that singularity, as it implies a contempt of the general practice, is a kind of defiance which justly provokes the hostility of ridicule; he therefore who indulges peculiar habits is worse than others, if he be not better.

Of his humour, a story told by Pope may afford a specimen.

"Dr. Swift has an odd, blunt way, that is mistaken, by strangers, for ill-nature.—'Tis so odd, that there's no
10 describing it but by facts. I'll tell you one that first comes into my head. One evening, Gay and I went to see him : you know how intimately we were all acquainted. On our coming in, ' Heyday, gentlemen (says the Doctor), what's the meaning of this visit ? How came you to leave all the great Lords, that you are so fond of, to come hither to see a poor Dean ? '—Because we would rather see you than any of them.—' Ay, any one that did not know so well as I do might believe you. But since you are come, I must get some supper for you, I suppose.' No, Doctor, we have
20 supped already.—' Supped already ? that's impossible ! why, 'tis not eight o'clock yet.—That's very strange ; but, if you had not supped, I must have got something for you. —Let me see, what should I have had ? A couple of lobsters ; ay, that would have done very well ; two shillings, —tarts, a shilling : but you will drink a glass of wine with me, though you supped so much before your usual time only to spare my pocket ? '—No, we had rather talk with you than drink with you.—' But if you had supped with me, as in all reason you ought to have done, you must then
30 have drunk with me.—A bottle of wine, two shillings—two and two is four, and one is five : just two-and-six-pence a-piece. There, Pope, there's half a crown for you, and there's another for you, Sir ; for I won't save any thing by you, I am determined.'—This was all said and done with his usual seriousness on such occasions ; and, in spite of

every thing we could say to the contrary, he actually obliged us to take the money."

In the intercourse of familiar life, he indulged his disposition to petulance and sarcasm, and thought himself injured if the licentiousness of his raillery, the freedom of his censures, or the petulance of his frolicks, was resented or repressed. He predominated over his companions with very high ascendancy, and probably would bear none over whom he could not predominate. To give him advice was, in the style of his friend Delany, *to venture to speak to him*. 10 This customary superiority soon grew too delicate for truth; and Swift, with all his penetration, allowed himself to be delighted with low flattery.

On all common occasions, he habitually affects a style of arrogance, and dictates rather than persuades. This authoritative and magisterial language he expected to be received as his peculiar mode of jocularity; but he apparently flattered his own arrogance by an assumed imperiousness, in which he was ironical only to the resentful, and to the submissive sufficiently serious. 20

He told stories with great felicity, and delighted in doing what he knew himself to do well. He was therefore captivated by the respectful silence of a steady listener, and told the same tales too often.

He did not, however, claim the right of talking alone; for it was his rule, when he had spoken a minute, to give room by a pause for any other speaker. Of time, on all occasions, he was an exact computer, and knew the minutes required to every common operation.

It may be justly supposed that there was in his conver- 30 sation, what appears so frequently in his Letters, an affectation of familiarity with the Great, an ambition of momentary equality sought and enjoyed by the neglect of those ceremonies which custom has established as the barriers between one order of society and another. This

transgression of regularity was by himself and his admirers termed greatness of soul. But a great mind disdains to hold any thing by courtesy, and therefore never usurps what a lawful claimant may take away. He that encroaches on another's dignity, puts himself in his power; he is either repelled with helpless indignity, or endured by clemency and condescension.

Of Swift's general habits of thinking if his Letters can be supposed to afford any evidence, he was not a man to be
10 either loved or envied. He seems to have wasted life in discontent, by the rage of neglected pride, and the languishment of unsatisfied desire. He is querulous and fastidious, arrogant and malignant; he scarcely speaks of himself but with indignant lamentations, or of others but with insolent superiority when he is gay, and with angry contempt when he is gloomy. From the Letters that pass between him and Pope it might be inferred that they, with Arbuthnot and Gay, had engrossed all the understanding and virtue of mankind, that their merits filled the world;
20 or that there was no hope of more. They shew the age involved in darkness, and shade the picture with sullen emulation.

When the Queen's death drove him into Ireland, he might be allowed to regret for a time the interception of his views, the extinction of his hopes, and his ejection from gay scenes, important employment, and splendid friendships; but when time had enabled reason to prevail over vexation, the complaints, which at first were natural, became ridiculous because they were useless. But queru-
30 lousness was now grown habitual, and he cried out when he probably had ceased to feel. His reiterated wailings persuaded Bolingbroke that he was really willing to quit his deanery for an English parish; and Bolingbroke procured an exchange, which was rejected, and Swift still retained the pleasure of complaining.

The greatest difficulty that occurs, in analysing his character, is to discover by what depravity of intellect he took delight in revolving ideas, from which almost every other mind shrinks with disgust. The ideas of pleasure, even when criminal, may solicit the imagination; but what has disease, deformity, and filth, upon which the thoughts can be allured to dwell? Delany is willing to think that Swift's mind was not much tainted with this gross corruption before his long visit to Pope. He does not consider how he degrades his hero, by making him at fifty-nine the 10 pupil of turpitude, and liable to the malignant influence of an ascendant mind. But the truth is, that Gulliver had described his *Yahoos* before the visit, and he that had formed those images had nothing filthy to learn.

I have here given the character of Swift as he exhibits himself to my perception; but now let another be heard, who knew him better; Dr. Delany, after long acquaintance, describes him to Lord Orrery in these terms:

“My Lord, when you consider Swift's singular, peculiar and most variegated vein of wit, always rightly intended 20 (although not always so rightly directed), delightful in many instances, and salutary, even when it is most offensive; when you consider his strict truth, his fortitude in resisting oppression and arbitrary power; his fidelity in friendship, his sincere love and zeal for religion, his uprightness in making right resolutions, and his steadiness in adhering to them; his care of his church, its choir, its oeconomy, and its income; his attention to all those that preached in his cathedral, in order to their amendment in pronunciation and style; as also his remarkable attention 30 to the interest of his successors, preferably to his own present emoluments; invincible patriotism, even to a country which he did not love; his very various, well-devised, well-judged, and extensive charities, throughout his life, and his whole fortune (to say nothing of his wife's) con-

vayed to the same Christian purposes at his death; charities from which he could enjoy no honour, advantage or satisfaction of any kind in this world. When you consider his ironical and humorous, as well as his serious schemes, for the promotion of true religion and virtue; his success in soliciting for the First Fruits and Twentieths, to the unspeakable benefit of the established Church of Ireland; and his felicity (to rate it no higher) in giving occasion to the building of fifty new churches in London.

- 10 "All this considered, the character of his life will appear like that of his writings; they will both bear to be reconsidered and re-examined with the utmost attention, and always discover new beauties and excellences upon every examination.

"They will bear to be considered as the sun, in which the brightness will hide the blemishes; and whenever petulant ignorance, pride, malice, malignity, or envy, interposes to cloud or sully his fame, I will take upon me to pronounce that the eclipse will not last long.

- 20 "To conclude—no man ever deserved better of any country than Swift did of his. A steady, persevering, inflexible friend; a wise, a watchful, and a faithful counsellor, under many severe trials and bitter persecutions, to the manifest hazard both of his liberty and fortune.

"He lived a blessing, he died a benefactor, and his name will ever live an honour to Ireland."

- In the Poetical Works of Dr. Swift there is not much upon which the critick can exercise his powers. They are often humorous, almost always light, and have the qualities
30 which recommend such compositions, easiness and gaiety. They are, for the most part what their author intended. The diction is correct, the numbers are smooth, and the rhymes exact. There seldom occurs a hard-laboured expression, or a redundant epithet; all his verses exemplify

his own definition of a good style, they consist of *proper words in proper places*.

To divide this Collection into classes, and shew how some pieces are gross, and some are trifling, would be to tell the reader what he knows already, and to find faults of which the author could not be ignorant, who certainly wrote often not his judgement, but his humour.

It was said, in a Preface to one of the Irish editions, that Swift had never been known to take a single thought from any writer, ancient or modern. This is not literally true; 10 but perhaps no writer can easily be found that has borrowed so little, or that in all his excellences and all his defects has so well maintained his claim to be considered as original.

NOTES.

p. 1, l. 2, by **Dr. Hawkesworth**. John Hawkesworth (died 1778), a friend and imitator of Dr. Johnson; he edited the "Adventurer" (1752-1754) and wrote about half the papers. The first volume of his edition of Swift, containing the Life mentioned by Johnson, was published in 1755. In 1766 Hawkesworth printed three volumes of Swift's Correspondence, including part of the "Journal to Stella." On this, see p. 58 below. In 1778 he published "An Account of the Voyages of Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis and Captain Cook," in 3 vols. Johnson told Mrs. Thrale that his biographers "must all go to Jack Hawkesworth for anecdotes" of his own early life in London.

l. 9, according to an account said to be written by himself. This fragment of autobiography exists in MS. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. It was first printed in Deane Swift's life of his kinsman. It is given in Forster's "Life," pp. 4 *sq.*, and in Mr. H. Craik's "Life" (Appendix I.). Swift does not say his father had been "an attorney" as Johnson asserts; but vaguely that "he had some employments and agencies." He held the stewardship of the King's Inns, Dublin.

Swift's mother was Abigail Erick, of a good Leicestershire family. She died in 1710.

l. 11, **St. Andrew's day**, Nov. 30th.

l. 12, **delivered by Pope to Spence**. Singer's edit. of Spence's "Anecdotes" (1858) p. 121; Camelot, p. 85.

l. 21, **the school at Kilkenny**. A grammar school founded in the sixteenth century, and in Swift's time reckoned the best in Ireland. Congreve, the dramatist, was a school-fellow of Swift; and Bishop Berkeley, the metaphysician, was educated there after they left. The school was under the patronage of the Ormond family; and was sometimes known as the Duke of Ormond's School.

p. 2, l. 2, **his degree at last by special favour**. Swift's own

account in the autobiographical fragment runs thus: "By the ill-treatment of his nearest relations he was so discouraged and sunk in his spirits that he too much neglected his academic studies; for some parts of which he had no great relish by nature, and turned himself to reading history and poetry: so that when the time came for taking his degree of bachelor of arts, although he had lived with great regularity and due observance of the statutes, he was stopped of his degree for dulness and insufficiency; and at last hardly admitted in a manner little to his credit, which is called in that college *speciali gratiâ*, on the 15th February, 1685, with four more on the same footing, and this discreditable mark, as I am told, stands upon record in the college registry." Mr. Forster and Mr. Craik try to show that there was no disgrace attaching to the *speciali gratiâ*. If so, we must suppose that neither Swift nor his immediate friends and first biographers knew the meaning of it.

Mr. Craik's account is the clearest, and may be put in a few words. The degree depended on undergraduates keeping twelve terms, and passing the examination at the end of each. At one at least of these terminal examinations Swift was defective. "Strictly his graduation might have been postponed for a year: but in Swift's time it was usual to grant a *specialis gratia* to meet such cases" (Craik, "Swift," p. 15).

l. 19, the first sketch of his "Tale of a Tub." The "old companion" was Waring, whose sister ("Varina") was the object of the first of Swift's strange love affairs. The story that Waring saw the "Tale of a Tub" as early as this, is rejected by recent authorities.

l. 21, Godwin Swift. Swift's uncle Godwin had been a successful barrister, and he was related by marriage to the Ormond family. In his later days he lost his money by injudicious speculation. He became insane before his death. Swift's dislike and ingratitude towards his uncle have never been satisfactorily explained, even by the most apologetic of his biographers.

l. 25, Sir William Temple (1628-1699), the well-known statesman and essayist, was born in Blackfriars. After a long courtship he married, in 1655, Dorothy Osborne, whose letters to him have been recently published; he sat in the Irish Convention of 1660, and settled in England in 1668. He was sent on some diplomatic missions; and in 1668 negotiated the famous Triple Alliance. He was ambassador in Holland until the war of 1671, and returned after peace was restored in 1674. His scheme of a Council of Thirty, something between the old Privy Council and a modern Cabinet, was a failure (1679). He

took small part in politics after this, though he was often consulted by William III. His writings consisted of memoirs and miscellaneous essays. See Macaulay's "Essays," p. 418 *sq.*

Swift's residences with Temple were three in number, viz., (1) from the end of 1689 to May, 1690; (2) from the autumn of 1691 to May, 1694; (3) from May, 1696, to Temple's death in Jan., 1699.

Temple, in a letter of recommendation to Sir Robert Southwell (May 29, 1690) says of Swift: "He has lived in my house, read to me, writ for me, and kept all accounts as far as my small occasions required. He has Latin and Greek, some French, writes a very good and current hand, is very honest and diligent, and has good friends, though they have for the present lost their fortunes in Ireland, and his whole family having been long known to me obliged me thus far to take care of him." (First printed by Cunningham in his edition of Johnson's "Lives," iii. 160). In a letter of Samuel Richardson to Lady Bradshaigh, also quoted by Cunningham, it is stated, on the authority of Sir W. Temple's nephew, that Swift's salary was £20 a year; and that "Sir William never favoured him with his conversation because of his ill qualities, nor allowed him to sit down at table with him." This, if true at all, probably only applies to the first of the three periods of residence.

p. 3, l. 1, showed him how to cut asparagus. Deane Swift is the authority for this story, and that which follows. This Deane Swift was the son of another Deane Swift, the son of Godwin Swift, and was therefore cousin to Dr. Jonathan Swift. His "Essay upon the Life, Writings and Character of Dr. Jonathan Swift" was published in 1755.

l. 6, When Temple removed to Moor Park. Temple had built his house at Moor Park, near Farnham, in 1686. He returned to Sheen, near Richmond, for a year, at the time of the Revolution, but most of his time was spent after that at Moor Park. Johnson was perhaps misled by Swift's rough and dateless account in the Autobiography, or he may refer to Temple's return to Moor Park after his year at Sheen. See Craik, p. 512.

l. 7, the Earl of Portland. William Bentinck, Earl and afterwards Duke of Portland (1649-1709) a Dutch friend of William III. His secret negotiations with the Whigs paved the way for the Revolution and William's accession; and he was rewarded by a peerage and enormous grants of land, which the hostility of the House of Commons compelled William to revoke. He carried on several important diplomatic affairs, including the Partition treaties. An impeachment was begun against him and Somers in 1701, but dropped. He was present

at the death of William III. His latter years were spent in retirement.

On Swift's visit to the King, which took place in 1698, during Swift's second residence with Sir W. Temple, see Craik, "Swift," p. 38. The account is taken from Swift's autobiographical notes.

l. 18, **his first antidote against vanity.** "This was the first time that Mr. Swift had ever any converse with courts, and he told his friends it was the first incident that helped to cure him of vanity" (Swift's "Autobiography").

l. 19, **contracted a disorder.** This, according to Dr. Bucknill, was what is now called labyrinthine vertigo, a disease of the inner ear which produces giddiness and deafness, and which may eventually lead to disease of the brain, as it seems to have done in Swift's case. Several medical men, whose opinion I have asked, agree with the earlier view put forward by Sir William Wilde in his "Closing Years of Dean Swift"—that Swift suffered from epileptic vertigo, or, as he prefers to call it, cerebral congestion. It had of course nothing to do with eating fruit, which is Swift's own as well as Lord Orrery's account of its origin (see the Autobiographical notes by Swift; Orrery, "Remarks," p. 12).

l. 31, **Cyprian and Irenaeus.** The works of these two fathers of the Church seem to have been read, and abstracts to have been made from them in the year 1697, which is six years after Swift's return to Temple. See a memorandum of Swift's, frequently reprinted, by Forster, Craik, and others.

l. 32, **run half a mile up and down a hill.** This is in Deane Swift's "Essay." According to his account, doubtless due to his cousin, Swift used to do the run—a quarter of a mile each way—in six minutes.

p. 4, l. 8, **he took his Master's degree.** Swift may possibly have gone into residence for a short time at Oxford. He belonged to Hart Hall, afterwards Hertford College, dissolved in 1805; but revived in 1874. He received an *ad eundem* degree of B.A. in June; and the M.A. degree in July.

l. 9, **penny lodging.** Orrery, "Remarks," p. 21 (ed. 1753). This story is corroborated by Delany. "Your account of his choosing to lie in his travels at houses where he found written over the door 'lodgings for a penny,' is I believe, very just; and I have only to add, that I have often heard him say, that he took particular care to keep clear of being lodged in the same bed as the clowns he conversed with. And that he often bribed the maid with a tester, for a single bed and clean sheets" (Delany, "Observations," p. 78).

l. 10, **Lord Orrery.** John Boyle, fifth Earl of Orrery (1707-

1762). His father Charles, the fourth earl, and the reputed editor of the "Letters of Phalaris," left his library to Christ Church, Oxford, because (he said) his son had no literary tastes.

He produced a translation of Pliny's "Letters" in 1751. His acquaintance with Swift began about 1732, and they were on terms of great friendliness. Swift told Pope he loved no man so well, except Pope himself. Orrery's "Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift" (1751) were, however, not very favourable to Swift, and are sometimes distinctly malicious. Warburton says that the publisher disposed of 12,000 copies of the "Remarks," of which five or six editions were sold in the first year.

1. 22, **Deputy Master of the Rolls in Ireland.** Sir William Temple succeeded his father, Sir John Temple, as Master of the Rolls in Ireland. He executed the office by deputy, and drew a good yearly salary from the Irish Government for doing nothing. The post of Deputy was worth £120 a year. Johnson's authority is Swift's "Autobiography," which, however, does not say Temple "made him Deputy Master," but that he "offered him an employ of about £120 a year in that office" (i.e., of the Rolls).

1. 23, **his kinsman's account,** viz., his cousin, Deane Swift's account in the "Essay," Appendix, p. 49.

1. 25, **enter into the Church.** Swift's "Autobiography," after mentioning the offer of the post of Deputy Master goes on, "whereupon Mr. Swift told him, that since he had now an opportunity of living without being driven into the Church for a maintenance, he was now resolved to go to Ireland, and take holy orders." Swift left Moor Park in the May of 1694. He was ordained deacon in October, 1694, and priest in the following January.

1. 27, **the Factory at Lisbon.** A factory was "any place beyond sea where the factors [or agents] of merchants reside for the conveniency of trade" (Bailey's "Dictionary"). Willoughby Swift, the eldest son of Godwin Swift, was at the English factory at Lisbon.

1. 28, **Lord Capel** was Lord Deputy of Ireland from 1695 to 1700.

1. 28, **the prebend of Kilroot in Connor.** Kilroot is a seaside village a few miles from Belfast. It is in the diocese of Connor, now united with that of Down.

A prebend was an endowment for a priest ministering in a cathedral or conventual church. It often consisted of a parochial benefice; and when the canon (or prebendary) was not in residence at the cathedral, he lived at his prebend. Now it is a mere stipend granted to a canon out of the general income of the cathedral.

Swift's love affair with Miss Waring ("Varina") belongs to this part of his life.

1. 33, **With this request Swift complied.** Swift returned to Moor Park in May, 1696, and remained there till after Temple's death in January, 1699, a period not of four years but of somewhat less than three. He resigned his prebend in December, 1697. During his absence he had provided a substitute.

p. 5, l. 5, **Pindaric Odes to Temple.** So-called Pindaric Odes had been brought into fashion by Cowley. Modern classical scholars consider that Pindar's Odes, although differing very much from one another, have a fixed and orderly structure. The imitations of Cowley and his followers, and even those of Dryden and Pope are entirely irregular, and show no trace of metrical structure. Johnson says of Congreve, "Yet to him it must be confessed that we are indebted for the correction of a national error, and for the cure of Pindaric madness. He first taught the English writers that Pindar's Odes were regular; and though certainly he had not the fire requisite for the higher species of lyric poetry, he has shown us that enthusiasm has its rules, and that in mere confusion there is neither grace nor greatness" ("Lives," Bohn, ii. 220). Gray's "Pindaric Odes" are better imitations of the more orderly Greek forms.

For Swift's "Pindaric" Odes, see Bell's edition of Swift, i. 595 sq. Scott's edit. xiv. 3.

1. 5, **to the King.** This Ode is not Pindaric, but is written in quatrains of iambic pentameters, like Dryden's "Annus Mirabilis."

1. 6, **the Athenian Society.** This originated in 1689. The moving spirit was an eccentric and enterprising bookseller named John Dunton, long afterwards described by Pope as "a broken bookseller and abusive scribbler," on whom see Craik's "Life of Swift," pp. 33, seq. For details of the Society see Gildon's "History of the Athenian Society," 1691, folio.

The "obscure pamphlet" was the "Athenian Mercury," "resolving weekly all the most nice and curious Questions proposed by the Ingenious," 1691-1697, (folio, 20 vols.). The first number was called the "Athenian Gazette," but with the second number the name was altered "to oblige authority," in order to prevent confusion with the official "Gazette." The more interesting questions and answers were reprinted under the name of the "Athenian Oracle," 1708-1710 (4 vols.) A small selection from the "Oracle" has been published within the last few years by Mr. Walter Scott. Like Defoe's "Review," the "Athenian Mercury" no doubt helped to suggest the "Tatler" to Steele.

1. 13, **left a legacy with his manuscripts.** "One version of the autobiography says the amount of the legacy was £100, but

the figure is afterwards scored through" (Craik, "Swift," p. 74, note). Forster reckons that Swift got about £200 for the five volumes of Temple's works. But no reliance can be placed on this calculation.

l. 15, a promise of the first prebend that should be vacant. Swift's "Autobiography" is the authority for this statement. It is confirmed by a passage in a letter from Swift to his uncle, Mr. William Swift, dated Moor Park, Nov. 29, 1692: "I am not to take orders till the king gives me a prebend; and Sir William Temple, though he promises me the certainty of it, yet is less formal than I could wish."

l. 24, the Earl of Berkeley. Charles, Earl of Berkeley, (1649-1710) for some years minister at the Hague, was appointed one of the Lords Justices of Ireland in 1699, together with the Duke of Bolton and the Earl of Galway. His period of office ended in December, 1701. (During the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, or during a vacancy in that high position, Lords Justices were often appointed to carry on the government.) He married Elizabeth Noel, daughter of Viscount Campden.

It was on Lady Berkeley that Swift palmed off his "Meditation on a Broomstick" as one of the Hon. Robt. Boyle's. But this was long afterwards, when the family were in London.

l. 27, one Bush had persuaded the Earl. Swift's "Autobiography" is the authority for this account and for the story of bribery in connection with the presentation to the Deanery of Derry.

l. 85, dismissed with the livings of Laracor and Rathbeggin. Swift did not immediately lose his chaplaincy; he retained it under the next two viceroys (Forster, "Swift," p. 111). He received in February, 1700, the three small livings of Laracor, Agher, and Rathbeggin. Swift obtained a dispensation from the Primate to hold the livings together on the ground that the united income only amounted to "a comfortable support to your petitioner." Laracor is near Trim, and about twenty miles from Dublin.

Swift had a small prebend in St. Patrick's. Lord Orrery puts the joint income from the two (or three) livings at £280; but his recent biographers consider that his total income from his parishes was only £230 a year.

p. 6, l. 7, the unfortunate Stella. Esther Johnson had been the pupil of Swift. There is no evidence in favour of the suggestion that she was related to Sir W. Temple. But her position was not that of lady's maid to Lady Giffard, Temple's sister, as Macaulay asserts ("Essays," p. 462). She was born in 1681, and was therefore only twenty when she came to Ireland. Part of her property—altogether about £1,500—consisted of a

farm in that country, and Ireland was a cheaper place to live in than England, as Swift was fond of telling Pope and other correspondents. See Swift's "On the Death of Mrs. Johnson," Bell, ii. 814; Scott, ix. 281. Cf. Forster, p. 292.

l. 10, **Mrs. Dingley.** Rebecca Dingley (died 1748), who was not married, had lived with Miss Johnson in England since Temple's death. She had a small income, about £27 a year, of her own. "Mrs." was commonly given during the early eighteenth century to unmarried women. "Miss" was familiar, and was reserved for girls.

l. 20, **Dissensions in Athens and Rome.** "A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and the commons in Athens and Rome" (see Bell's edit. i. 283; Scott, iii. 201). Orrery says it was written "in derision of the style and manner of Mr. Robert Boyle" ("Remarks," p. 64, ed. 1851.

l. 22, **paying a visit to some bishop.** The story is well told in Deane Swift's "Essay," pp. 121-123. The bishop was Sheridan of Kilmore, a non-juror, who was a friend of Swift's family.

l. 28, the "**Tale of a Tub.**" "The Tale of a Tub written for the Universal Improvement of Mankind," Bell, i. 82; Scott, x. 1.

"A Tale of a Tub" was a very old, quasi-proverbial saying, to which no very definite meaning can be assigned. Mr. Forster and Mr. Craik appear to take too seriously Swift's ironical comparison of his "Tale of a Tub" to the traditional tub which sailors were supposed to throw to a whale "to divert him from laying violent hands upon the ship." The clergy, as Forster says, "preferred the mischief to the remedy. They would rather the whale should swallow them, than have such a diversion."

l. 28, **nor very well proved by any evidence.** Dr. Johnson's scepticism as to Swift's authorship of the "Tale of a Tub" is recorded by Boswell, "Life," Bohn, ii. 294. There was no foundation for it. We can easily understand Swift's desire not to own the "Tale" too definitely and formally, and so Curll's worthless statement in his "Key to the Tale of a Tub" that Swift's cousin, Thomas Swift, rector of Puttenham, in Surrey, was the real author, is the sole piece of evidence against Dr. Swift's authorship. The alleged enormous superiority of the "Tale" over Swift's other writings (see above, p. 30) cannot be maintained.

l. 85, **Archbishop Sharpe.** Dr. John Sharpe (died 1718), made Archbishop of York in 1691. Swift believed that he was kept out of a bishopric by the Duchess of Somerset, Archbishop Sharpe, and the Queen:

"By an old — pursued,
A crazy prelate and a royal prude."

See "The Author upon Himself" (Bell, i. 707; Scott, xii. 315).
In the same piece occurs the expression quoted by Johnson:

"Poor York! the harmless tool of others' hate,
He sues for pardon and repents too late."

In the "Journal to Stella" (April 23rd, 1713, the day on which he became Dean of St. Patrick's), Swift says: "The Archbishop of York, my mortal enemy, has sent by a third hand that he would be glad to see me;" and on the 26th he adds, "The Archbishop of York says he will never more speak against me."

p. 7, l. 1, **Duchess of Somerset**. Elizabeth, Baroness Percy, daughter of Josceline, Earl of Northumberland, was married at the age of fourteen to the Earl of Ogle, and after his death to Mr. Thynne, from whom she ran away, and who was mysteriously assassinated. A few months afterwards she married again, the third husband being Charles Seymour, Duke of Somerset. At the time of her third marriage she was only eighteen.

"Now angry Somerset her vengeance vows
On Swift's reproaches on her * * * * spouse;
From her red locks her mouth with venom fills,
And thence into the royal ear instils."

"The Author upon Himself."

The "missing word" in the second line is "murdered." See Forster's "Swift," p. 156, 210, and Elwin and Courthope's "Pope," vii. 11.

l. 4, **Sacheverell**. Henry Sacheverell (died 1724), fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and in 1705 chaplain of St. Saviour's, Southwark. In 1709 he preached his two famous sermons attacking the Revolution and the Whigs. He was impeached by the ministry, but his condemnation by the House of Lords (mainly a Whig body) helped more than anything else to bring about the fall of the government. By the new Tory ministry he was given the Crown living of St. Andrew's, Holborn. He was a college friend of Addison, who dedicated one of his early poems to him.

l. 4, **Smalridge**. George Smalridge, D.D. (1663-1719), an Oxford man, was a moderate High Churchman. With his friend Atterbury he took part in the controversy with Obadiah Walker, the Master of University College, who had turned Roman Catholic. He was a popular preacher as well as a learned theologian, and after various minor appointments became Bishop of Bristol (1714). He was a philosophical disciple of

Berkeley, and held his idealistic doctrine, then called "Immaterialism" (Singer's edition of Spence, 1858, p. 190, note).

l. 9, **The digressions relating to Wotton and Bentley.** The allusions to Bentley and Wotton in the "Tale of a Tub" are few and slight. The chief is in the "Epistle Dedicatory to Prince Posterity." Apparently Johnson refers to the "Battle of the Books," which appeared in the same volume as the "Tale of a Tub" (1704). The title runs, "A full and true Account of the Battle fought last Friday between the Ancient and the Modern Books in St. James's Library" (Bell, i. 125; Scott, x. 217).

William Wotton (1666-1726), an infant prodigy, who knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at the age of six, went to Cambridge at the age of ten, and obtained his degree before the age of thirteen. He replied to Temple's "Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning" in his "Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning" (1694). He took holy orders, and was one of the first Englishmen to preach in Welsh. He showed great interest in Welsh antiquities.

Richard Bentley (1662-1742), a Yorkshireman, sizar at St. John's College, Cambridge, took his B.A. degree in 1679. He became tutor to the son of Dr. Stillingfleet and accompanied him to Oxford. Through Stillingfleet's influence he became librarian of the King's Library, St. James's Palace. His "Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris" was added by way of appendix to the second edition (1697) of Wotton's "Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning." This "Dissertation" he republished in a more extended form in 1699. He was appointed Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1700, and spent the rest of his long life in quarrelling and litigation with the college, with the bishops of Ely as visitors of the college, and with the university. He edited Horace, Terence, and other classical authors, and produced a lamentable edition of Milton, which may be regarded as to some extent a *reductio ad absurdum* of the emendatory methods of classical scholarship.

l. 16, "**Combat des Livres.**" This is not the title of any book yet discovered. Wotton, in his "Defence of the Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning" (1705), says: "I have been assured that the battle in St. James's library is, *mutatis mutandis*, taken out of a French book entitled 'Combat des Livres,' if I mis-remember not." This is denied by Swift in the "Author's Apology" prefixed to the "Tale of a Tub" in the fifth authorized edition (1710); he says he "has never heard of such a treatise;" and goes on, "neither will he insist upon the mistake in the title; but let the answerer and his friend produce any book they please, he defies them to show

one single particular where the judicious reader will affirm he has been obliged for the smallest hint." There existed, however, a book by François de Callières, called "*Histoire poétique de la guerre nouvellement déclarée entre les Anciens et les Modernes*" (1688)—this, by the way, is not in verse—which contains so many points of resemblance to Swift's work, that they cannot all be accidental. The whole matter is complicated by an extraordinary fatality, which has led not only Johnson, but Scott and even Forster, into a strange series of mistakes as to the name of the book and the author. See Craik's "Swift," p. 70-72.

l. 18, **had produced in France.** See Hallam, "History of Literature," iv. 306-8.

l. 25, **How often he visited England.** Swift was in England nearly every year from 1701 to 1707, and sometimes remained here for six months at a time. He lived in England from November, 1707, to June, 1709, and again from September, 1710, to June, 1713. He returned to England in August, 1713, but retired to Ireland soon after the Queen's death in 1714. He paid a visit to his English friends from March to August, 1726, and another, his last, from April to September, 1727.

l. 29, **"The Sentiments of a Church of England Man."** This is the most significant of the three or four pamphlets of Swift's future attitude to the Whigs. In political matters he is still a moderate Whig, but he is alarmed at the coquetting of the Whigs with the dissenting enemies of the Church. He holds that a "Government cannot give them too much ease, nor trust them with too little power." The "Sentiments of a Church of England Man with respect to Religion and Government" was published in 1708. (Bell, ii. 209; Scott, viii. 247-280.)

l. 30, **ridicule of Astrology.** The pamphlets written by Swift in the name of the imaginary Isaac Bickerstaff, were three in number, viz., "Predictions for the year 1708," "The Accomplishment of the first of Mr. Bickerstaff's Predictions, being an Account of the Death of Mr. Partridge in a letter to a Person of Honour" (1708); "A Vindication of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., against what is objected to him by Mr. Partridge in his Almanac for the year 1709. By the said Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq."

Other pamphlets by various writers were contributed to the attack on Partridge, e.g., "An Answer to Bickerstaff, by a Person of Quality," and "Squire Bickerstaff Detected," which ironically bears the name of poor Partridge himself, but is attributed to Yalden (on whom see Johnson's "Lives," Bohn, ii. 287), assisted by Congreve and Rowe.

A broadsheet by Swift, connected with the attack on Partridge, may be also mentioned, viz., "A Famous Prediction of Merlin, relating to the year 1709."

For these works see Bell, ii. 250-259; Scott, viii. 458 sq.

l. 81, "**Argument against abolishing Christianity.**" The full title is a fine example of Swift's grave irony: "An Argument to prove that the Abolishing of Christianity in England may, as things now stand, be Attended with some Inconveniences, and perhaps not produce those many good effects proposed thereby." (Bell, ii. 170; Scott, viii. 61).

l. 82, defence of the "**Sacramental Test.**" This is entitled "A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a Member of the House of Commons in England, concerning the Sacramental Test." Bell, ii. 280; Scott, viii. 351.

Swift wrote a number of other tracts on the same question, viz., "Narrative of the Attempts made for a Repeal of the Test;" "Advantages proposed by Repealing the Test Considered;" "Queries relating to the Test;" "Some Few Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Test;" and the ironical "Reasons for Repealing the Test in favour of Catholics."

p. 8, l. 14, **Asgill.** John Asgill (1659-1788), a successful barrister, who went over to Ireland and practised there, and became a member of the Irish parliament, from which he was expelled in 1703. In 1705 he was elected to the English House of Commons. In 1700 he published a book called "An Argument respecting Eternal Life," to prove that men are naturally and by right immortal. "It interprets the relations between God and man by the technical rules of English law." Whether the book was ironical or not was doubted. Coleridge called Asgill a "consummate artist in the statement of the case," and thought his irony often finer than Swift's. This extraordinary book brought him into serious trouble. He was charged with blasphemy, and expelled from the House of Commons in 1712.

l. 13, **Toland.** James Toland (1670-1722) was one of the deistic writers. His chief work was "Christianity not Myste-rious" (1696); he also wrote "Socinianism Truly Stated" (1705), and "Nazareus" (1718).

l. 18, **Tindal.** Matthew Tindal (1657-1738), was a strong Whig. His "Jacobitism, Perjury, and Popery" (1710), was a furious manifesto against the High Church party. In 1780 he published his "Christianity as old as Creation," which was one of the principal Deistic books of the time, and that which Butler seems to have had most in view when he wrote the "Analogy."

l. 24, the reasonableness of a Test. Mr. Craik has an ad-

mirable defence of Swift's attitude on the subject, "Life of Swift," p. 157, 158. As he says, Swift saw that the toleration, as advocated by the Whigs of that age, was "nothing but a party manœuvre, which sought in the ranks of dissent an ally against Tory hopes."

1. 28, Steele, when he projected the "Tatler." The "Tatler" made its appearance on April 12th, 1709. In the first number Steele links his new venture to Swift's successful literary joke. See p. 54, below.

1. 31, "Project for the Advancement of Religion." This is supposed to be written "by a Person of Quality" (1709). Bell, ii. 175; Scott, viii. 81. Steele alludes to it very eulogistically in No. 5 of the "Tatler." "The author" (he says) "must certainly be a man of wisdom as well as piety, and have spent much time in the exercise of both." Compare Craik, "Swift," p. 166.

On "Lady Berkeley," see above, p. 47.

p. 9, l. 5, "Vindication of Bickerstaff." See p. 51.

1. 6, "Ancient Prophecy." This is the "Famous Prediction of Merlin relating to the Year 1709."

1. 10, the primate of Ireland. Dr. Narcissus Marsh (1698-1718), successively Archbishop of Cashel, Dublin, and Armagh. He founded the cathedral library at Dublin.

1. 11, remission of the First Fruits and Twentieth parts. The first fruits or annates were the first year's income of an ecclesiastical benefice. This was claimed during the middle ages by the Pope. In England first fruits were annexed to the Crown in 1534. In 1708 by letters patent Anne restored them to the Church; and this gift was confirmed by Act of Parliament next year. The proceeds were to be applied to the augmentation of poor livings; and the Corporation called the "Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne," was erected to administer it. The poorer livings were exempted from payment. The clergy of Ireland, where the benefices were as a rule very small, desired that a similar course might be followed in that kingdom. They petitioned "that the twentieth parts might be remitted to the clergy, and the first fruits made a fund for purchasing glebes and impropriations, and rebuilding churches. The twentieth parts are 12d. in the £1 paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the Reformation. They amount to about £500 per annum; but of little or no value to the queen, after the offices and other charges are paid, though of much trouble and vexation to the clergy. The first fruits paid by incumbents upon their promotion amount to £450 per annum; so that her majesty, in remitting about £1,000 per annum to the clergy will really lose not above £500." (Swift's

"Memorial to Mr. Harley," Bell, ii. 455). A request was also made for the removal of a rent which the Crown extorted from certain parishes of which it was impropriator. This brought in about £2,000 a year. It was Swift himself who suggested the effort to get rid of the imposts (1704). He was commissioned by Archbishop King, of Dublin, to make an attempt to get the hardship removed in 1707, and again 1709; but failed owing to the unfriendliness of the Whig ministers, who were more anxious to conciliate the dissenters than to remove the disabilities of the clergy. In September, 1710, he was sent over again with a commission from the Irish bishops, and with him were joined the bishops of Ossory and Killaloe.

l. 13, **Mr. Harley.** Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford (1661-1724). He entered Parliament as a Whig and was Speaker from 1701 to 1705. He had in 1704 become a Secretary of State in Godolphin's ministry; but he intrigued against his colleagues and resigned in 1708. In conjunction with St. John he helped to bring about the overthrow of Godolphin and the Whigs in 1710, and became chief minister and chancellor of the exchequer in August, 1710. He was made Earl of Oxford and Lord High Treasurer (the last who held this title) in 1711. He quarrelled with Bolingbroke in 1714 and was succeeded by the latter at the end of July, 1714, less than a week before the death of Anne. In the new reign he was impeached and imprisoned by the triumphant Whigs for a couple of years, but after all the impeachment failed, and he retired into private life. He collected books, tracts, and MSS., and made the celebrated Harleian collection now in the British Museum. For Swift's opinion of him see the "Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry" (Bell, i. 499; Scott, v. 264).

l. 15, **refused to co-operate with some of their schemes.** Swift was alienated from the Whigs by their attacks on the church and the favour they showed to the dissenters. See Craik, chap. v. and vi. and Leslie Stephen's "Life," pp. 61-6.

l. 30, **one of the sixteen Ministers.** The number was afterwards enlarged. Amongst the original members were St. John, Ormond, Peterborough, Wyndham, Swift, Prior, and Arbuthnot. (Cunningham erroneously makes Oxford a member, instead of his son, Mr. Harley, see ii. 216, *note*.) They dined together once a week, and met, says Cunningham, oftener at taverns than at each other's houses. There is a good account in Leslie Stephen's "Swift," p. 104-6.

p. 10, l. 1, **Confesses the advantages of his conversation.** See the "Tatler," preface to vol. iv. Swift contributed several numbers, and reference to his contributions occur pretty frequently in the "Journal to Stella." Amongst the best authenti-

cated are the verses on a "Morning in Town" in No. 10, a letter from Obadiah Greenhat, No. 59; a part of No. 66 on preaching; parts of No. 67 and 68; No. 230 on the "continual corruption of our English tongue" by the use of what is nowadays called slang; and the "Description of a City Shower" in No. 238, with which he was specially pleased.

l. 4, the "**Examiner**." This weekly Tory paper first appeared August 3rd, 1710; among the contributors were St. John, Prior, Atterbury, etc. Swift had the sole management of the paper from No. 14 (November 2nd, 1710,) onward to No. 45 (June 7th, 1711,) after which he took only a subordinate part in the conduct of the paper. The "**Examiner**" defended the new Tory ministry very effectively. Johnson makes a mistake in suggesting that Addison's "**Whig Examiner**" was set up to oppose Swift. The "**Whig Examiner**" ran only to five numbers, September 14th to October 12th, 1710, and had therefore ceased to exist before Swift took up the editorship of the "**Examiner**." See Johnson's "**Life of Addison**" (Bell's English Classics) pp. 19 and 82.

l. 11, **Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the English Tongue**. See Bell, ii. 286; Scott, ix. 137. It appeared in May, 1712. It was the only one of his works which Swift published under his own name. Johnson has some fuller remarks on the subject of Academies in his **life of Roscommon**; "**Lives**," Bohn, i. 235.

l. 23, "**Letter to the October Club**." The October club held extreme Tory opinions, and Swift's "twopenny pamphlet," of which he was very proud, is a dexterous appeal to them not to press the new ministry too hard, especially in the matter of getting rid of Whig placemen. See Bell, i. 366; Scott, iv. 81. The pamphlet appeared in January, 1712.

l. 35, **Harley was slow because he was doubtful**. Johnson's estimate of Harley was truer than Swift's. "His apathy was mistaken by Swift for philosophy, his hesitation for calculating wisdom." Craik, "**Life**," p. 219.

p. 11, l. 25, "**Conduct of the Allies**." Bell, i. 410; Scott, iv. 800. The pamphlet was published on November 27th, 1712. It ran through four editions in a week, and had an immediate and enormous effect on public opinion.

p. 12, l. 9, **General for life**. On Marlborough's attempt to get himself made Captain-General for life, compare Johnson's "**Life of Addison**" (Bell's English Classics, pp. 15, 78),

l. 10, **Lord Cowper**. William Cowper (1664-1743), a Whig lawyer and politician. In 1707 he was created an earl and made Lord Chancellor. He was in favour of coming to terms with France and was to some extent opposed to the Marlborough

interest; so that when Harley formed his ministry he wished Cowper to retain the Great Seal. Cowper was Chancellor again from 1714 to 1718.

1. 12, **Whatever is received, say the schools.** By the "schools" is meant by the traditional philosophy originally taught in the monastic schools, which was founded on Aristotle and the fathers of the church. At the Reformation much of the old scholastic teaching remained in the universities of Europe, though Aristotle was now more read instead of his mediæval followers.

"*Quidquid recipitur, recipitur ad modum recipientis,*" (rendered by Johnson, "whatever is received is received in proportion to the recipient") is one form of a famous scholastic maxim, which appears in several slightly different shapes in mediæval writers. For instance, St. Thomas Aquinas says, "*Similitudo agentis recipitur in patientem secundum modum patientis*" (Summa, Pars i. Q. 79, art. 3); "*Scientia est secundum modum cognoscentis*" (*Ibid.*, Pars i. Q. 14, art. i.).

In its widest sense the expression practically means that "there cannot be action without reaction;" the specific change which takes place in any object from the activity of some cause, is not due simply to the acting cause, but is partly determined by the nature of the apparently passive material itself, which responds in a certain definite way. You cannot boil pebbles soft as you can potatoes, because it is not the nature of the "recipients" to respond in that particular manner to that particular cause.

In its narrower sense it means that things are known to us under the special conditions of our knowing faculty; that the object perceived and known is not the same for man with his specific mental structure (senses, forms of judgment, and so forth) as it would be for some other knowing being with another and a different set of faculties. This pen in my hand is not the same thing to me as it would be to a dog, a Bushman or an archangel. This is what we mean, or part of what we mean, by the Relativity of Knowledge. See Hamilton's "Lect. on Metaphysics," i. 61.

1. 27, **"Reflections on the Barrier Treaty."** The proper title is "Some Remarks on the Barrier Treaty." Bell, i. 428; Scott, iv. 382. The treaty bound England to obtain for the Dutch the right to garrison a number of fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands. It was signed in 1709 and again in 1713, but not finally ratified till 1715. It helped to alienate Austria from England.

1. 33, **"Remarks on the Bishop of Sarum's Introduction."** The proper title is "A Preface to the Bishop of Sarum's Intro-

duction," etc. Bell, i. 379; Scott, iv. 187. Burnet's excited partisan "Introduction" had been issued by him separately as a pamphlet. It was the aim of the Whigs, such as Steele and Burnet, to represent the Tory ministry as the friends of the French, of arbitrary power, and of Popery, and as Jacobites and Romanists in disguise. Swift disliked Burnet not only as a Whig, but still more as a half-hearted, latitudinarian churchman. See his "Remarks on Burnet's History of his own Times," Bell, i. 561. In these, Swift gives this final judgment on Burnet, "After all he was a man of generosity and good nature, and very communicative; but in his ten last years was absolutely party-mad, and fancied he saw popery under every bush."

p. 13, l. 14, he represents himself. See his "History of the Four Last Years of the Queen," Bell, i. 441; Scott, v. 15. "I preserved several of the opposite party in their employments, who were persons of wit and learning, particularly Mr. Addison and Mr. Congreve. . . . Mr. Steele might have been safe enough if his continually repeated indiscretions, and a zeal mingled with scurrilities, had not forfeited all title to lenity."

l. 16, deanery of St. Patrick. Swift was kept in suspense even over this. See "Journal to Stella," April 13-23, 1713. At the last it seemed a question whether he should be a prebendary of Windsor or Dean of St. Patrick's. "I expect neither; but I confess, as much as I love England, I am so angry at this treatment, that if I had any choice, I would rather have St. Patrick's" (April 16th). His deanery was worth about £700 a-year, according to Delany. Swift went over to Ireland in June, and was installed in his cathedral, apparently, after an unpleasant reception in the city. (See below, p. 61.) He returned to England in September.

l. 23, fifty pounds from Lord Oxford. There is a reference to Swift's rejection of this money in the "Journal to Stella," February 7th, 1710-11. In the "Four Last Years of Queen Anne," he says, "I never received one shilling from the minister, or any other present, except that of a few books; nor did I want their assistance to support me" (Bell, i. 441; Scott, v. 15).

l. 26, as he says of himself. Cunningham refers to Swift's letter to Sheridan of July 8th, 1726; but this does not contain the expression quoted by Johnson, which I have hunted for unsuccessfully in Swift's correspondence.

l. 28, he kept a journal. This is the famous "Journal to Stella," of which Dr. Johnson certainly underrates the charm. It begins at Chester on September 2nd, 1710, and finishes at Chester June 6th, 1718. Every fortnight or so Swift sent it

over to Stella and Mrs. Dingley, and it partakes of the nature both of letters and diary.

The letters were returned to Swift on Stella's death. The first forty were given by Swift to Mrs. Whiteway, apparently, in 1788, and, after having been forgotten for years, were found by her in 1754 or 1755; the rest, twenty-five in number, were probably mislaid when the others were given to Mrs. Whiteway. Dr. Lyon, a clergyman, who was in charge of Swift's person in his last illness, obtained possession of these twenty-five; doubtless he had either received them as a gift, or took possession of them with other papers on the death of his charge. He handed them over to his friend Mr. Wilkes, who sold them to the booksellers. In 1766, Hawkesworth published these twenty-five letters, with others, in three volumes, in continuation of his edition of "Swift's Works," issued ten years earlier. In 1768 the earlier part of the "Journal" was published, with other letters, edited by Deane Swift. Both Hawkesworth and Deane Swift altered and mutilated the "Journal," and suppressed much of the "little language." The title "Journal to Stella" was given by Hawkesworth; when the Journal was written the name "Stella" had not been conferred on Esther Johnson. Scott's and other editions are far from accurate. See Forster's "Swift," pp. 405, *sq.*

p. 15, l. 16, **Swift contrived an interview.** The two interviews spoken of by Johnson are mentioned in a letter to Edward, Earl of Oxford, son of his friend and patron, dated June 14th, 1737: "I laboured to reconcile them as much as I was able; I contrived to bring them to my Lord Masham's at St. James's. My lord and lady Masham left us together. I expostulated with them both, but could not find any good consequences. I was to go to Windsor next day with my lord treasurer; I pretended business that prevented me, expecting that they would come to some — [blank in the original, the missing word is probably 'understanding' or 'agreement']. But I followed them to Windsor, where my lord Bolingbroke told me that my scheme had come to nothing."

There is what seems to be another account of this second meeting (in the coach) in Swift's "Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry:" "I thought I had done wonders when, upon the queen's last being at Windsor, I put them into a coach to go thither by appointment, without other company, where they would have four hours to come to a good understanding; but in two days after I learned from them both that nothing was done."

The letter to Oxford continues: "In May, before the queen died,

I had my last meeting with them at my lord Masham's. He left us together, and therefore I spoke very freely to them both, and told them 'I would retire, for I found all was gone.' Lord Bolingbroke whispered me 'I was in the right.' Your father said, 'All would do well.' I told him 'that I would go to Oxford on Monday, since I found it was impossible to be of any use.' I took coach to Oxford on Monday; went to a friend in Berkshire; there stayed until the queen's death; and then to my station here, where I stayed twelve years, and never saw my lord, your father, afterward." A somewhat different account of this interview is given in the "Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry." "About eleven weeks before the queen died," that is, in the middle of May, one night, "sitting with him [Oxford] and lord Bolingbroke in lady Masham's lodgings at St. James's, he told the lord treasurer that he despaired of any reconciliation between them, and that he had resolved to retire, 'that before I left them, I desired they would answer me two questions, first, whether these mischiefs might not be remedied in two minutes? and, secondly, whether upon the present foot the ministry would not be infallibly ruined in two months?' Lord Bolingbroke answered to each question in the affirmative, and approved of my resolution to retire; but the treasurer, after his manner, evaded both, and only desired me to dine with him next day."

It should be noted that Dr. Johnson's account leaves out of sight the long-continued plotting of Bolingbroke against Oxford, and the momentary success gained by the former, who at last (July 27th) drove his rival from office. Before he could form a ministry, however, the queen was taken alarmingly ill, and the Whigs and Moderates acted with such decision that by the time she died (August 1st) all chance of an ultra-Tory, or Jacobite, *coup d'état* was gone by.

l. 24, "The Publick Spirit of the Whigs" (Bell, i. 394; Scott, iv. 220). Steele's "Crisis" had appeared on January 19th, 1714. This was a dull, though heated, defence of "the late happy Revolution," together with "some seasonable remarks on the dangers of a Popish successor." It had an enormous sale, the subscription alone amounted, it is said, to 40,000. Swift's pamphlet was published on February 28rd, according to Mr. Aitken ("Life of Steele," ii. 10). The full title runs: "The Publick Spirit of the Whigs set forth in their Generous Encouragement of the Author of the 'Crisis,' with some Observations on the Seasonableness, Candour, Erudition, and Style of that Treatise."

Swift and Steele had been friends. Swift had in several ways befriended Steele, and had done his best to preserve

for him the office of Commissioner of the Stamp Office, when he had lost the gazetteership by an attack on Harley in the "Tatler." (Aitken, "Steele," i. 288.) They, however, had quarrelled over politics in April, 1718. For the particulars of this quarrel, compare Craik, "Swift," p. 261, *sq.*, and Aitken, "Steele," i. 378, *sq.*

Swift had already attacked Steele, before the "Crisis" appeared, in "The Importance of the 'Guardian' Considered" (October, 1713), a reply to Steele's "Importance of Dunkirk considered." It should be added that the "Character of Richard St—le, Esq." (November, 1713), has been attributed to Swift, but on insufficient grounds. See Aitken, "Steele," i. 412-415.

l. 81, not to be offended with impunity. An allusion to the Scottish national motto, "Nemo me impune lacessit." The offence to the Scotch lay, says Swift, in his description of them as a "fierce poor northern people." (Letter to Peterborough, May 18th, 1714.)

l. 84, a proclamation was issued. This was a mere subterfuge of Oxford's, who pretended he knew nothing of the author. The Whig House of Lords prosecuted the printers, Morphew and Barber, and Oxford privately sent Swift £100 to recompense them. See Oxford's letter to Swift "in a counterfeit hand," March 14th, 1714, in Bell, i. 502; Scott, xvi. 103.

p. 16, l. 1, as he relates :

"The queen incensed his services forgot,
Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot.
Now through the realm a proclamation spread
To fix a price on his devoted head.
While innocent he scorns ignoble flight,
His watchful friends preserve him by a sleight.
By Harley's favour once again he shines,
Is now caress'd by candidate divines,
Who change opinions with the changing scene;
Lord! how they were mistaken in the dean!
Now Delawar again familiar grows,
And in Swift's ears thrusts half his powder'd nose.
The Scottish nation whom he durst offend,
Again apply that Swift would be their friend."

"The Author upon Himself," 1718.

It is obvious that Johnson takes these lines a little too seriously, in gravely quoting them as an authority.

l. 8, Aislachie. John Aislachie (1670-1742), at this time (1714) M.P. for Ripon, became Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Stanhope's ministry of 1717. He was expelled from the House of Commons for taking bribes from the South Sea Company.

Walpole. Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford (1676-1745), the famous Whig statesman, was a Norfolk gentleman, who became M.P. for Castle Rising in 1702, and after holding a less important office, became Secretary at War in 1708. He took a part in the impeachment of Sacheverell. When the Harley administration came in he was accused of peculation in his late office, and was expelled from the House (1712). From June 1715 to 1717 Walpole was First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, and again from 1721 to 1742. During this long period he pursued a peace-policy, and managed to secure his power by persistent and effective bribery. His enemies gained in strength, and in 1742 he resigned. He was made Earl of Orford and granted a pension of £4,000 a year. The last three years of his life were spent in retirement.

l. 12, in the house of a friend. The friend was Mr. Gery, vicar of Letcombe, near Wantage, in Berkshire. Swift remained at the vicarage for two or three months. See Swift's "Letter to Miss Vanhomrigh," June 8th, 1714.

l. 14, "Free Thoughts on the present State of Affairs." Bell, i. 491; Scott, v. 232. The publication was delayed by the advice of Bolingbroke.

l. 21, The account of his reception in Ireland. Orrery, "Remarks," p. 88; Delany, "Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks," p. 87. Deane Swift, "Essay," p. 182. There is a real discrepancy, since Orrery is distinctly speaking of Swift's visit in 1718 to take possession of the deanery.

l. 31, the Archbishop of Dublin. Dr. William King (1650-1729), Dean of St. Patrick's, 1688; Bishop of Derry, 1691; Archbishop of Dublin, 1702. He wrote a work on the "State of the Protestants in Ireland" (1691), and a famous treatise, "De Origine Mali" (1702). He was a friend of Swift, and they frequently corresponded while Swift was in England. On his misunderstandings with Swift, see Craik, pp. 265 and 306.

p. 17, l. 4, some historical attempts. These are "Memoirs relating to the Change in Queen Anne's Ministry in 1710" (Bell, i. 277; Scott, iii. 167), and the "Inquiry into the Behaviour of the Queen's Last Ministry" (Bell, i. 498; Scott, v. 264).

l. 6, "History of the Four Last Years of Queen Anne" (Bell, i. 438; Scott, v. 3). This was apparently written at Windsor in 1712 or 1713, but revised after the accession of George I. Swift was dissuaded from publishing it (about 1737) by Lord Oxford, son of the late Lord Treasurer, by Bolingbroke, and by Erasmus Lewis. He put it aside, and it was not printed during his lifetime. In 1758 a work purporting to be

Swift's was published, but doubts were cast on its authenticity. These have now been practically dispelled. See Craik's "Life of Swift," Appendix III. It is worth noting that in the "Idler," No. 65, Johnson had spoken of the work as authentic.

1. 11, **Dr. King.** This William King (1685-1768) was principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford. He was famous for his wit and his Jacobitism; and he wrote "Political and Literary Anecdotes" (1715-1760), published in 1818.

1. 15, old **Mr. Lewis.** Erasmus Lewis, a friend of Swift, who was secretary to Lord Oxford. See Swift's "Refutation of the Falsehoods alleged against Erasmus Lewis, Esq." Bell, i. 877; Scott, iv. 185.

1. 16, commenced **Irishman**, set up as an Irishman. The phrase to "commence bachelor" (or other degree) still survives at the universities.

1. 31, **Mr. Worrall** (or Worrall) was an old friend of already over twenty years standing in 1714. He was intimately acquainted with Stella and Mrs. Dingley, and his name occurs frequently in Swift's correspondence. He lived close to the cathedral and the deanery. "Mrs. Worrall was with Swift's mother at the period of her death." (Cunningham.) For an account of Mr. Worrall, see Delany, "Observations," p. 91.

p. 18, l. 11, **privately married to Mrs. Johnson.** The question whether Swift was ever married to Esther Johnson cannot be regarded as yet solved. The marriage was asserted (1) by Swift's friend, Lord Orrery, in his "Remarks" (1751); (2) by Swift's friend, Dr. Delany, in his "Observations on Lord Orrery's Remarks" (1754); (3) by George Monck Berkeley, in his "Literary Relics" (1789), on the (indirect) authority of his kinsman, Bishop Berkeley, who had the story from Bishop Ashe, of Clogher, who is said to have performed the ceremony; (4) by Thomas Sheridan, in his "Life of Swift" (1784), whose father, Dr. Sheridan, was a very intimate friend of Swift; (5) by Dr. Madden, as cited by Johnson (see above, p. 18 and p. 25), who probably, though this is not known, got his evidence directly from Dr. Sheridan. On the other hand, there are some important considerations to the contrary: (1) absence of any mention or suggestion of the marriage either by Swift or by Stella; (2) the incompatibility of the course of conduct they both pursued with the fact of marriage; (3) absence of any reason for concealment of the marriage if it had taken place; (4) absence of any reason for marriage in 1716, if the marriage was not going to be avowed, since a concealed marriage could not serve the purpose of averting scandal; (5) Stella signs herself "Esther Johnson" even in her will, which would have been invalidated by a false signature; (6) the evidence to the

contrary of Dr. Lyon, a clergyman, Swift's attendant during his last years.

Of recent writers Mr. Craik (see "Life of Swift," Appendix IV.) accepts the theory of the marriage; the late Mr. Forster and Mr. Aitken (see "Athenæum," August 8th, 1891) reject it; Mr. Leslie Stephen ("Swift," p. 139, *seq.*) and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole are uncertain.

"Dr. Swift and Mrs. Johnson continued the same economy of life after marriage which they had pursued before it. They lived in separate houses, he remaining at the deanery, she in lodgings at a distance from him, and on the other side of the river *Liffy*. Nothing appeared in their behaviour inconsistent with decorum or beyond the limit of Platonic love. They conversed like friends; but they industriously took care to summon witnesses of their conversation: a rule to which they adhered to so strictly that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to prove that they had ever been together without some third person." Orrery, "Remarks," p. 16, 3rd ed., 1752. According to Deane Swift the Dean allowed Mrs. Johnson £52 a year ("Essay," p. 346).

l. 11, **Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher.** Dr. St. George Ashe (died 1717) had been Swift's college tutor at Dublin. He became provost of Trinity, and was made bishop successively of Cloyne, Clogher, and of Derry. He was one of Swift's and Stella's greatest friends.

l. 12, **Dr. Madden.** Dr. Samuel Madden (1687-1765), an early friend and patron of Dr. Johnson, for whom Johnson did some literary devilling about 1745, in revising and preparing for the press a poem called "Boulter's Monument." Dr. Percy attributes to Madden Johnson's dislike for Swift. He was known as "Premium Madden" on account of some prizes (or "premiums") which he instituted at Dublin. See Boswell, Bohn, i. 249; "Johnsoniana," Bohn, p. 27.

l. 16, **says Lord Orrery.** "Remarks," p. 16.

l. 21, **by a pamphlet.** "A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures, in Clothing and Furniture of Houses; utterly rejecting and removing everything Wearable that comes from England" (1720). Bell, ii. 62; Scott, vi. 270. In 1729 Swift issued "A Proposal that all the Ladies and Women of Ireland should appear constantly in Irish Manufactures." It is interesting to note that the wholesale boycotting of English goods was at one time suggested by the Home Rulers in the time of Mr. Parnell.

l. 28, **printer was imprisoned.** A true bill was found against Waters, the printer; but despite the violent and outrageous conduct of Whitedshed, the chief justice, who sent the petty jury back nine times, no conviction could be obtained. See

above, pp. 20-21, and Swift's letter to Pope, January 10th, 1721.

l. 82, **Mrs. Van Homrigh** (pronounced, says Cunningham, "Vannummy"). On the story of Hester Van Homrigh, Swift's "Vanessa," see Craik, 268, *sq.*, and 818-824: Leslie Stephen, 127, *sq.* She died in May, 1728.

p. 19, l. 19, **the poem to be published.** There was no such direction in Miss Van Homrigh's will, which is given in Scott's edition of Swift (xix. 879); but "Cadenus and Vanessa" was, as a matter of fact, published shortly after her death, and probably, as Mr. Craik thinks, by "some implied injunction" to the executors.

l. 21, is thus related by Delany. "Observations," p. 57. Cf. Richardson's letter to Lady Bradshaigh in Cunningham, iii. p. 179.

p. 20, l. 10, **upon a broomstick.** For the "Meditation upon a Broomstick According to the Style and Manner of the Honourable Robert Boyle's Meditations"—Swift's little joke on Lady Berkeley—see Bell, ii. 284.

l. 12, the "**Drapier's Letters.**" Bell, ii. 1; Scott, vi. 847. On the circumstances of the publication and the motives of Swift, see Leslie Stephen, chap. vii.; Craik, pp. 346 *sq.* The letters are ascribed to "M. B., drapier" (i.e., draper). They were, properly speaking, four in number, (1) "To the Tradesmen, Shopkeepers, Farmers, and Country People in General of the Kingdom of Ireland, concerning the brass Halfpence coined by one William Wood, hardwareman." . . . Published in April, 1724. (2) "To Mr. Harding, the Printer" [publisher of a news letter, in which a forecast of the action of the Government appeared], August 4th, 1724. (3) "Some Observations on a paper called 'The Report of the Committee of the Most Honourable the Privy Council in England, relating to Wood's Halfpence. To the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom of Ireland,' August 25th, 1724." (4) "To the whole People of Ireland," October 28rd, 1724. In addition to these four other pamphlets bearing on the question were issued; for instance, "Seasonable Advice to the Grand Jury concerning the bill against the Printer of the Drapier's Fourth Letter," November 11th, 1724. The fifth letter was addressed to Lord Viscount Molesworth, December 14th, 1724. The sixth letter (as usually printed) is addressed to Lord Chancellor Middleton, October 26, 1724. This should, however, properly be considered the fifth. Besides these, a number of other pamphlets, most of which Swift may have had some hand in, were issued; e.g., "Tom Punsibi's Dream" (by Dr. Sheridan), several letters to Wood, or purporting to come from him. See Bell, ii. 22-51; Scott, vii. 58-92.

1. 14. **Duchess of Munster.** Ermengarde Melusina von Schulenberg (died 1748), a mistress of George I., was made Duchess of Munster in 1714, and Duchess of Kendal in 1719. Her influence over the king led to her being constantly bribed; thus she received £10,000 from the South Sea Company. Whether the patent for a copper coinage for Ireland was originally granted to her, and sold by her to Wood for £10,000, or granted to Wood in consequence of a bribe of £10,000 paid to the mistress, seems a little uncertain. This woman received £8,000 a year in pensions paid by the Irish Government.

1. 15, **hundred and eighty thousand pounds.** Johnson means £180,000 worth. Swift gives the value as £108,000, and Craik follows him. Leslie Stephen, however, says that the right sum was £100,800. This discrepancy has escaped notice.

1. 24, **Wood took care to make greater.** There seems to be no evidence for this.

1. 28, **debased to an enormous degree.** Swift, either intentionally or through ignorance, totally misrepresents the economic effects of the new coinage. All our copper coinage is and was what is called token money; our present bronze pennies are worth only one-seventh of their nominal value, but so long as 240 of them are made by law to exchange for a sovereign, this makes no difference to the holder. No hardship was inflicted on Ireland by giving it a similar coinage. But it was true that the Irish half-pence weighed a little less than the contemporary English ones, for in Ireland thirty pence were coined out of a pound of copper, and in England only twenty-three. This, however, was no disadvantage, since the law, and not its own intrinsic worth, settled the value of a penny. Thus Stanley Jevons, speaking of our own bronze coinage, says: "A considerable profit, therefore, accrues upon the coinage of bronze, . . . but the reduction of weight is altogether an advantage, and is probably not carried as far as it might properly be done" ("Money," p. 111). Mr. Craik does not seem to properly appreciate this; but it is very clearly put by Mr. Leslie Stephen, pp. 152-8.

The real and solid objections to Wood's halfpence were political rather than economical, although the excessive amount of the new coinage might no doubt have caused some practical inconvenience. The shameless corruption of the whole transaction, together with the absolute disregard of the rights of the Irish Government, and of the feelings of the Irish nation, were Swift's strongest arguments.

p. 21, l. 2, **special verdict**, that is, a statement of the naked facts as the jury finds them to be proved, and praying the advice of the court thereon as to whether the prisoner is guilty

or not guilty. See Blackstone, bk. iii. ch. xxiii., and bk. iv., ch. xxvii.?

l. 4, to find the bill. To find a bill is to send the case for trial by the petty jury.

l. 5, Lord Carteret. John Carteret Granville, Lord Carteret (1690-1768), a Whig statesman, was Secretary of State in 1721 (Walpole's ministry), and Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in April, 1724. He was a friend of Swift's, and tradition says that Swift greeted him on his arrival in Ireland with the words, "What in God's name, do *you* here? Get you gone, and send us our boobies again." After a successful viceroyalty, he resigned in May, 1780. To a letter to Swift (March 24th, 1787), he adds as postscript: "When people ask me how I governed Ireland, I say 'that I pleased Dr. Swift.'" He became Earl Granville in 1744.

l. 8, trusted only his butler. There is no evidence for this story.

p. 22, l. 18, Archbishop Boulter. Dr. Hugh Boulter (1671-1742), was made Bishop of Bristol in 1719, and Archbishop of Armagh in 1724. He was a strong supporter of Whiggism and Protestantism in Ireland, and encouraged Dissent to counter-balance the Church of which he was primate. He was appointed one of the Lords Justices no less than thirteen times. On Boulter's policy and character, see Craik, "Life of Swift," pp. 363 *sq.*

l. 28, Swift was then in England. He was in England from March to August, 1726; and again from April to September, 1727.

l. 29, three volumes of *Miscellanies*. "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse" (London).

It included work by Arbuthnot and Gay, as well as by Swift and Pope. Amongst the principal contents are: "Martinus Scriblerus ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΘΟΥΣ, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry;" "Virgilius Restauratus;" "An Essay of Martinus Scriblerus concerning the Origin of Sciences;" "Annus Mirabilis, or the Wonderful Effects of the Approaching Conjunction of the Planets Jupiter, Mars and Saturn;" "A Key to the Lock, or a Treatise proving beyond all Contradiction the Dangerous Tendency of a late Poem, entitled The Rape of the Lock, to Government and Religion;" "Memoirs of P. P., Clerk of this Parish;" "The Narrative of Dr. Robert Norris concerning the Frenzy of Mr. John Dennis;" "A Full and True Account of the Revenge by Poison on the Body of Mr. Edmund Curll, bookseller," etc., etc.

l. 80, querulous and apologetical Preface. The Preface is signed by both Swift and Pope. The gist of the Preface lies in

the words: "We are therefore compelled in respect to truth to submit to a very great hardship; to own such pieces as in our stricter judgments we would have suppressed for ever," rather than allow spurious pieces to be attributed to them.

l. 33, "**Gulliver's Travels.**" The book was published in the November of 1726.

p. 23, l. 7, the **Flying Island. Laputa.** See Bk. iii. of "**Gulliver's Travels.**" The Houyhnhnms are described in Bk. iv.

l. 14, the **Queen.** Caroline of Anspach (1682-1737) was daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach. She was married to George, afterwards George II. of England, in 1705. She took a considerable part in politics as a warm friend of Walpole, and exercised much influence on the king.

l. 20, **breaking her promise of some medals.** This was only what Bacon calls a by-matter. On the relation of Swift to the queen see his letter to Lady Betty Germaine of January 8th, 1732-1733.

l. 24, **Mrs. Barber,** a poetess whom Swift befriended. The letter to the queen (1731) is regarded by Croker and Mr. Craik as undoubtedly forged.

l. 35, **Mrs. Howard** (1681-1767) was a mistress of George II., and was opposed to the queen and Walpole. She was sister to the Earl of Buckinghamshire and wife of the Honourable Charles Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk. Her influence over the king was never very great, though the Opposition at one time hoped to use her. Swift's "**Character of Mrs. Howard**" is full of subtle satire. "To do her justice she never feeds or deceives any person with promises, where she does not at the same time intend a degree of sincerity. She is upon the whole an excellent companion for men of the best accomplishments, who have nothing to desire or expect." Swift had a large correspondence with her during the years 1726-1727. She was then living at her newly-built house, Marble Hill, Twickenham, where she enjoyed the friendship of Pope, Arbuthnot, and Peterborough, and later of Horace Walpole. See Swift's letter to Lady Betty Germaine, January 8th, 1732-1733.

p. 24, l. 1, **Mrs. Masham.** Abigail Masham, *née* Hill (died 1734), the friend and adviser of Queen Anne, through whom Harley ousted Godolphin and Marlborough in 1710. Her husband was one of the twelve peers created in a batch in December, 1711.

l. 5, **not long afterwards.** In the beginning of August, 1727. See Swift's letter to Dr. Sheridan and Mrs. Howard in August, 1727.

l. 8, **two sick friends cannot live together.** Swift's cha-

racteristic words are: "Two sick friends never did well together. Such an office is fitter for servants and humble companions, to whom it is wholly indifferent whether we give them trouble or not." Letter to Pope, October 12th, 1727.

1. 12, in her forty-fourth year. She was born in March, 1681, and therefore was in her forty-seventh year at the time of her death.

1. 20, as Delany observes. Delany is always insisting on the "singularity" of Swift's character. See, for instance, "Observations," pp. 4, 56, 62.

1. 25, hindered a match sufficiently advantageous. The suitor was Dr. William Tisdall. See Forster, "Swift," pp. 186, sq.

1. 80, assurance double sure. "Macbeth," Act iv., Sc. 1.

p. 25, l. 4, When he offered to acknowledge. Delany's "Observations," p. 56. Delany's account would apply to about the year 1722, long before Swift's mind showed the faintest symptom of decay. Other accounts of the same incident by Sheridan and by Theophilus Swift, put the incident shortly before Stella's death. See Craik, Appendix V.

1. 16, she could not spell. There are several references to this in the "Journal to Stella," e.g., "But who are those *Wiggs* that think I am turned Tory? Do you mean Whigs? Which *Wiggs* and what do you mean?" (November 8th, 1710.)

1. 18, Swift himself has collected. "Bons Mots de Stella," Bell, ii. 317; Scott, ix. 294. See Delany, "Observations," p. 66.

1. 19, Letter to a Lady on her Marriage. "Letter to a Very Young Lady on her Marriage," Bell, ii. 300; Scott, ix. 208.

1. 27, Remarks lately published. "Dr. Johnson alludes, I suspect, to a paper of remarks by Dr. Lyons, printed by Nichols in 1779, in a supplemental volume to Swift's 'Works'" (Cunningham). On Dr. Lyon's testimony as contained in some MS. notes in a copy of Hawkesworth's "Life of Swift," now in the Forster Library at South Kensington, see Craik, p. 528.

1. 29, as Dr. Madden told me. On Dr. Madden, see p. 68. above.

1. 33, without a sigh. Orrery, "Remarks," p. 18.

p. 26, l. 2, He tells Pope. This is in the letter of October 12th, 1727.

1. 15, Bettesworth. Sergeant Bettesworth, nicknamed Sergeant Kite, was greatly offended by Swift's allusion:

"Thus at the bar the booby Bettesworth,
Though half-a-crown o'er pays his sweat's worth,
Who knows in law nor text nor margin,
Calls Singleton his brother sergeant."

Bettesworth swore to cut off Swift's ears, and followed him to the house of Mr. Worrall (see p. 62) and demanded an interview. When the visitor announced his name as "Sergeant Bettesworth," Swift asked, "Of what regiment, pray?" and then followed the clever piece of verbal fence recorded by Johnson.

1. 13, **Short poem on the Presbyterians.** "On the words Brother Protestants and Fellow Christians, so familiarly used by the Advocates for the Repeal of the Test Act in Ireland, 1733." Bell, i. 727; Scott, xii. 436.

1. 24, **I was not the author.** Compare Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, iii. 370, on the casuistry of anonymity.

1. 30, **embodied themselves in the Dean's defence.** "In December last Mr. Bettesworth, Sergeant-at-law and M.P. swore before many hundreds of people, that upon the first opportunity he would murder or maim the Dean of St. Patrick's. Upon which the principal inhabitants of the Liberty [of St. Patrick's] signed a paper to this effect: 'That, out of their great love and respect to the dean to whom the whole kingdom hath so many obligations, they would endeavour to defend the life and limbs of the said dean against a certain man and all his ruffians and murderers'" ("Grub Street Journal," August 9th, 1734.

p. 27, 1. 10, **the catchpoll,** a bum-bailiff or sheriff's officer, who arrested debtors sued by their creditors.

p. 28, 1. 3, **"The Legion Club,"** Bell, i. 730; Scott, xii. 456. The full title runs, "A Character, Panegyric, and Description of the Legion Club" (1736). This is an attack on the Irish Parliament which, under the direction of the Whig Government, had been passing various measures which injured the clergy in their temporal capacity. On Swift's attack of giddiness, see Lord Orrery's "Remarks," p. 169. Swift's letter to Pope, December 2nd, 1736.

1. 7, **He was always careful of money.** "And, my lord, I have made a maxim that should be writ in letters of diamonds, That a wise man ought to have money in his head, but not in his heart." Swift's letter to Bolingbroke, April 5th, 1729.

1. 10, **to give everyone a shilling.** See above, p. 34 for a somewhat similar story.

1. 13, **Would refuse a bottle of wine.** Delany, "Observations," p. 145.

1. 18, **never to wear spectacles.** Delany, "Observations," pp. 145, 146.

1. 24, **"Polite Conversation."** Bell, ii. 325; Scott, ix. 348. The full title is "A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation, according to the most polite Mode and Method now used at Court and in the best Companies of Eng-

land. In three dialogues. By Simon Wagstaff, Esq." It had been written at any rate as far back as 1781; but was published in 1788. Mrs. Barber (see p. 67 above) wrote to him in great distress—debt and ill-health and literary failure. Swift sent her the MS. of the "Polite Conversation" to get what she could for it.

1. 25, "**Directions for Servants**," Bell, ii. 358; Scott, xi. 380. Published in 1745. It is unfinished.

1. 35, he now lost distinction, that is, the capacity for distinguishing between different objects. On the disease from which Swift suffered, see Wilde, "Closing Years of Swift's Life," p. 68, compare p. 44 above.

p. 29, l. 1, of **rage and fatuity**. These were the two chief kinds of alienation recognized by the older writers.

1. 3, **Mrs. Whiteway**. "A female cousin," as Swift calls her in a letter to Erasmus Lewis, July 23rd, 1737. She was the mother-in-law of Deane Swift. Delany, "Observations," p. 180, is Dr. Johnson's authority. Details of Swift's last illness are given in a letter from Mrs. Whiteway to Orrery ("Remarks," p. 94) and this is drawn on by Johnson in the next paragraph.

1. 20, **It is all folly**. The authority for the anecdote is Delany, "Observations," p. 150. Cunningham refers to Swift's letter to Mrs. Whiteway, dated November 27th, 1738, where he says of his birthday, "It is a day you seem to regard, although I detest it, and I recall the third chapter of Job [in which the patriarch curses the day on which he was born] that morning."

1. 24, **about the end of October, 1744**. Johnson makes a mistake in the year, as Cunningham points out. It should be 1745. The exact date was October 19th.

1. 27, **without a struggle**. Orrery "Remarks," p. 186.

p. 30, l. 1, **that Ireland was his debtor**.

"That kingdom he had left his debtor,
I wish it soon may have a better."

Last couplet of the verses, "On the Death of Dr. Swift," Nov., 1781.

1. 8, **which they have at last established**. In 1780 the Irish obtained the removal of the restrictions on their trade, and under the leadership of Grattan were on the road to complete Home Rule. Johnson while disapproving the violent methods of the Volunteers of 1778 approved their claims, and rejoiced in their success. He regarded the "Protestant ascendancy" with aversion, and warned Ireland against a union with England. See Boswell's "Johnson," Bohn, ii. 288; "Johnsoniana," p. 294.

1. 28, **He studied purity.** Johnson of course means purity of diction.

p. 81, l. 19, **which he assigns to the "Church-of-England Man."** "I should think that, in order to preserve the constitution entire in church and state, whoever has a true value for both would be sure to avoid the extremes of Whig for the sake of the former, and the extremes of Tory on account of the latter." "Sentiments of a Church of England Man." On Swift's moderation in politics, see his letter to Pope, dated Jan. 10th, 1720-1, (but really written a year later, says Craik). See also Mr. Craik's admirable remarks, "Life," p. 168, *seq.* "He separated from the Whig party when at the height of their power, and separated because he thought them opposed to the church principles which he advocated from first to last. It is most unjust, therefore, to speak of Swift as a deserter from the Whigs. . . . I am so far from seeing any ground for such a charge, that I believe that few men have ever adhered more strictly to the principles with which they have started." (Leslie Stephen, "Swift," p. 74.)

1. 27, **it is said by Delany.** "Observations," p. 201.

1. 30, **of his choir he was eminently careful.** Delany, "Observations," p. 189, is the authority for what follows.

1. 34, **he restored the practice of weekly communion.** "His cathedral of St. Patrick's is the only church in that city wherein the primitive practice of receiving the sacrament every Lord's day was renewed, and is still continued. And to the best of my remembrance, and belief, renewed in his time. And it is most certain that he constantly attended that Holy Office: consecrated and administered the sacrament in person." Delany, "Observations," p. 46, *sq.* Deane Swift, "Essay," p. 370.

p. 32, l. 5, **He read the service.** The account of Swift's manner of reading the service is from Lord Orrery's "Remarks," p. 3.

1. 10, **he could only preach pamphlets.** Delany, "Observations," p. 42.

1. 19, **Dr. Delany was six months in his house.** Delany, "Observations," p. 44.

1. 38, **to his domestics he was naturally rough.** Delany admits this, but adds, "he was in truth one of the best masters in the world," and adds some examples of his consideration for his servants. "Observations," p. 185, *sq.*

p. 38, l. 26, **the revenue of his Deanery.** Delany, p. 200. Laracor (and the benefices grouped with it) was worth about £250. Swift's income therefore amounted to about £1,000 a year. "To live in England half as tolerably as I do here would

ruin me. I must have two servants [he apparently kept a groom as well] and three horses, and dare drink nothing but wine." "Letter to Mrs. Caesar," July 30, 1738.

l. 29, **he relieved without pity.** The account given by Delany ("Observations," pp. 7-18, 203, 260-1) does not leave an impression of extreme tenderness, but of benevolent forethought. "If he walked an hour or two on any occasion, instead of taking a coach, or a chair, he then cried out, that he had earned a shilling, eighteenpence, etc., and had a right to do what he pleased with it. And that constantly went to the account of charity. And I am well satisfied, that the same principle governed him in many other instances" (Delany, p. 13). Orrery has an odd remark: "His generosity seldom appeared, unless excited by compassion" ("Remarks," p. 3), which goes to show that he was by no means insensitive to distress. Delany, however, denies the truth of this "if by compassion you mean that sensibility of nature, which makes us feel for others, and urges us by relieving their difficulties to relieve our own" (p. 7).

l. 33, **with coins of different value.** Delany, "Observations," p. 13.

p. 34, l. 6, **a story told by Pope.** Spence, ed. 1858, p. 15; Camelot, p. 85.

p. 35, l. 7, **He predominated over his companions.** "He assumed more of the air of a patron than of a friend. He affected rather to dictate than advise" (Orrery, "Remarks," p. 29). "To his domestics he was passionate and churlish; to his equals and superiors rather an entertaining than a desirable companion" (*Ib.*, p. 146).

l. 21, **he told stories with great felicity.** Delany, "Observations," p. 218. Orrery says the same thing.

l. 27, **Of time, on all occasions, he was an exact computer.** "His hours of walking and reading never varied. His motions were guided by his watch, which was so constantly held in his hand, or placed before him on his table, that he seldom deviated many minutes in the daily revolution of his exercises and employments." Orrery, "Remarks," p. 44.

p. 36, l. 31, **His reiterated wailings.** Johnson exaggerates the querulousness of Swift's letters.

l. 33, **Bolingbroke procured an exchange.** Bolingbroke suggested an exchange, but no definite steps seem to have been taken. See Bolingbroke's letter to Swift, Aug. 2, 1731. The living was that of Burfield, in Berks. See Warton's "Pope," vi. 15. Many attempts were made by Swift's old friends to get him to come to England. Gay, Pope, and the second Lord Oxford, besides Bolingbroke, pressed on him to visit England.

p. 87, l. 7, **Delany is willing to think.** Delany, "Observations," p. 75.

On Swift's love of filth, see some ingenious remarks by Mr. Leslie Stephen, "Swift," pp. 179-181.

l. 18, **describes him to Lord Orrery.** "Observations," p. 291.

p. 88, l. 6, **the First Fruits and Twentieths.** See p. 58, above.

l. 9, **fifty new churches in London.** In 1710 an act was passed for the building of fifty new churches in London. The coal dues (which had formerly been assigned to the building of St. Paul's, which was now completed) were to be applied to this purpose. The duty was two shillings per chaldron, and afterwards three shillings. See Delany, "Observations," p. 270. The passage which is said to have suggested the measure runs thus:

"I shall, therefore, mention but one more particular, which I think the Parliament ought to take into consideration; whether it be not a shame to our country and a scandal to Christianity, that in many towns where there is a prodigious increase in the number of houses and inhabitants, so little care should be taken for the building of churches, that five parts in six of the people are absolutely hindered from hearing divine service? particularly here in London, where a single minister, with one or two sorry curates, has the care sometimes of above twenty thousand souls incumbent on him; a neglect of religion so ignominious, in my opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized age or country" (Swift's "Project for the Advancement of Religion").

p. 89, l. 1, **proper words in proper places.** Delany, "Observations," p. 271.

l. 9, **take a single thought.** "Copied," says Cunningham, "from the 'Verses on his own Death':

'To steal a hint was never known,
But what he writ was all his own.'

But the last line is stolen from Denham's verses on Cowley:

'To him no author was unknown
Yet what he wrote was all his own.'

11

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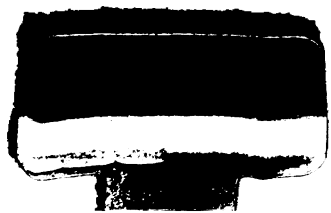
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